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LORD CLIVE.



# Lord Clive

By

Lord Macaulay

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY*

K. Deighton

London

Macmillan and Co., Limited

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1906

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## PREFACE.

MACAULAY'S two Indian Essays were written shortly after his return from India in 1838, and in some respects are equal to anything that ever came from his pen. His mind was at this period in the very hey-day of its strength and vivacity; his style—in some of the earlier Essays overloaded with ornament—had been chastened by self-discipline; to his hoards of learning, enriched with all that is grand and beautiful in the masterpieces of ancient and modern literature, to his study of the history of every age and clime, to his minute and insatiate industry, there had been added the breadth that comes of travel, of novel experiences, of a share in the practical art of government. The subjects, moreover, were well suited to his genius. They involved no subtle analysis of complex characters. They demanded no inquiry into abstract principles. They dealt with the actions of two great men who had pursued definite objects with unflinching tenacity, and whose practical natures were after Macaulay's own heart. They were suited to his genius in other ways. For in their treatment, while avoiding anything like tinsel rhetoric, he found scope for a certain pomp and pride and circumstance of

language well in harmony with scenes of Oriental magnificence and with the exercise of "that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and the unreal,"—a faculty which he recognized in Burke and himself possessed in abundant measure. It is true that as a historical sketch the Essay on Hastings is largely deformed by a prejudice due to political leanings and to an over-ready trust in Mill's far from trustworthy History. But this defect in no wise impairs the wonderful skill with which his narrative is built up out of unpromising materials, or takes aught from the light and colour which he has thrown over every incident, from the vividness of the panorama unrolled before us, or from the consummate art that perceives, as by instinct, where detail is an encumbrance and where detail can hardly be too detailed. In the case of Clive no snares beset his feet, hampering justice, hindering cordial praise. Free as he showed himself from all infection of the *lues Boswelliana*, his national pride was set aglow by deeds whose heroism asks the historian-herald's brightest blazon; sternly as he condemns that one deed of Clive's which forbids palliation, he was betrayed by no party ties into shading with too black a pencil transactions somewhat questionable in their political morality. Hence his portraiture of Clive may be accepted as a likeness, so far as the known records allowed of fidelity. And if it is not easy to give too high praise to the Essay as a work of art, our wonder is increased by a comparison between the book and its review. Sir John Malcolm's *Life of Clive* extends over three octavo

volumes numbering some twelve hundred pages. Their whole pith and marrow is extracted by Macaulay in some ninety pages of the same size. Macaulay remarks that the materials placed at the biographer's disposal cannot be said to have been "very skilfully worked up," and adds that if the author had lived to complete and revise his work, it "would probably have been improved by condensation and by a better arrangement." This is a most lenient judgment. For Malcolm did live to revise more than three-fourths of his work, and it is difficult to see how anything but a complete re-writing could impart much interest to what in its present shape is so clumsy a performance. The chief value of the *Life* is that it gives copious extracts from Clive's correspondence. Had this correspondence, of which we could have borne more, been connected by a slight thread of narrative, Malcolm's purpose would have been better served, though perhaps in that case we should have lost Macaulay's brilliant outline of a career that to Englishmen must ever be a pride and glory.

The results of Professor Forrest's researches among the Indian Records of Clive's time have not yet been published. By them no doubt much fresh light will be cast upon the history of the period; though in Clive's case we can hardly expect a reversal of public opinion similar to that which the revelations regarding Warren Hastings are gradually bringing about.





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# INTRODUCTION.

## EUROPEAN POWERS IN INDIA.

"WHEN," says Sir A. Lyall,\* "the Pope Alexander Borgia issued his Bull dividing the whole undiscovered non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, he awarded India to the latter power; whereupon the Portuguese proceeded with ruthless energy to establish their fortified settlements on the Indian coast, to seize points of vantage in the Indian Ocean, and to beat off all attempts by the Mahomedan sovereigns at Alexandria and Constantinople to resist European predominance in those waters." The pioneer of Portuguese enterprise in India itself, as apart from ventures in Eastern waters, was Vasco de Gama, who in 1498 landed on the Malabar coast. He, however, and his immediate successor, Alvarez Cabral, did nothing in the way of establishing a footing in the country, though they secured for Portugal the command of the Eastern seas and the monopoly of the Indian trade. It was Albuquerque who first effected a lodgment by the capture in 1510 of Goa, a city still retained by Portugal and the seat of

\* *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*, p. 8.

their government. Firmly planted there, he entered into friendly relations with several native states, maturing plans of extensive colonization and further conquests. In the same year he seized upon the Island of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, founding there a city which soon became the centre of the trade between India, Persia, and Western Asia, and in 1511 he wrested Malacca from the Malays. Here his conquests ended; but in 1530 the Portuguese obtained possession of Bombay, and in 1534 Diu and Bassein were added to their territories. Nevertheless their period of prosperity was but short, for in 1580 Portugal was annexed to Spain by Philip the Second; and though, on the recovery of her independence in 1640, she made some efforts to regain her former position in the East, she was obliged to sign a treaty which confined her to Goa and some minor ports on the west coast of India. By this time, too, the Dutch were rapidly ousting the Portuguese and had annexed most of her settlements. Their superior steadiness and enterprise gave them an advantage in the way of trade, their maritime power was fast becoming the greatest in Europe, and in dealing with the natives of India they were not hampered by that religious zeal which led the Portuguese into so many cruelties, nor addicted to that rapacity which made the successors of Albuquerque so hateful. Yet, though at one time they had settlements at Chisurah, Negapatnam, Pulicat, Bimlipatnam, and Sadras, these, with exception of the first, gradually passed into the possession of the English, and with the decline of the Dutch power in Europe, the intercourse of the nation with India ceased to be anything beyond that of a mercantile character. The

Danes for a short time had a slight footing in India, holding settlements at Tranquebar and Serampore, but their East India Company was extinguished in 1728 and their settlements were sold to the English in 1845. In 1722 the Emperor of Austria granted to the merchants of the Austrian Netherlands a charter authorizing the Ostend East India Company to trade, fit out armed vessels, build forts, and make treaties with Indian princes; but this interference with Indian trade alarmed the maritime powers, and on the representation of England, France, and Holland, the Emperor finally agreed by treaty to suppress the Ostend Company. Of the powers already mentioned none came into any serious and prolonged collision with the English. In regard to the French the case was different, and it is necessary to give more than a mere glance at the rivalry between the two great European powers who so long contended for mastery in the East. At the outset, the French companies engaging in the Eastern trade did not get farther than the isle of Madagascar. Three companies, not counting the commercial enterprise in the same direction organized by the Duke de la Meilleraye in 1654, followed each other in rapid succession. But it was not till 1666 that Colbert, Louis the Fourteenth's great finance minister, who had encouraged and helped the last of these three companies, determined to extend operations to India itself. With this object he nominated one Francis Caron as Director-General of French commerce in India. At the end of the year 1666 Caron landed at Surat and established there the first French factory. Working thence, he, by permission of the King of Golconda, set

up a second factory at Masulipatanam, and, his ambition growing, made an attempt to seize the island of Ceylon. Repulsed by the Dutch, the French then attacked and took Trinkámali. From this again they were ousted by the Dutch, and thereupon seized St. Thomé, a small Dutch settlement near Madras. Caron's success had been great, but his failure to capture Ceylon greatly disappointed the directors of the company, and at their instigation Caron was ordered by the Minister to return to France. M. Francis Martin, a trusted lieutenant of Caron, was then directed by his immediate superiors "to arrange with one of the native princes for the cession of a piece of land on which they might build, and which, fortified with care, might become the headquarters of the French possessions on the eastern coast of Southern India."\* By the governor of the possessions of the King of Bijápur in the Karnátak, Martin was allowed to purchase a plot of land in the South Arcot division comprising the districts of Puducheri—now known as Pondichery—Villanur and Bahur. Of this territory possession was taken in April, 1674. Martin's difficulties were at first great, but he was a man of rare capacity, and in his dealings with the natives he displayed a tact which won their confidence and esteem. By-and-by he was allowed to enlist native soldiers for the protection of his little colony. When a year later Siváji descended upon the Karnátak and threatened to annihilate the French on the pretext that they were allies of his enemy Sher Khán, Martin expressed his willingness to acknowledge the supremacy of the Maráthas, and his submission

\* Malleeson. *Dupleix*, p. 17.

was accepted. A worse peril was in store for him and for the French possessions. Pondichery was in 1693 attacked and captured by the Dutch, and it seemed as if French influence in Southern India had come to an end. But four years later the peace of Ryswick restored Pondichery, and Martin was sent back as Governor, this time with troops and military supplies sufficient to meet any attack to which the place was likely to be exposed. Besides being Governor of Pondichery, Martin was also made Director-General of all the French possessions in India. His government of Pondichery was to the end of his life, in 1706, conducted with the same prudence, tact, and success as in its earlier days, and at his death he left a colony of 40,000 natives grouped around the rising and prosperous town which owed its existence to his skill and energy. He left behind also, what was more valuable still, a cordial understanding between the French and the native states with whom he had been brought into contact, an understanding which was to serve his successors in good stead when more exciting times came. But the prosperity of the company at home was by no means commensurate with the prosperity of its chief settlement in India; and once more a re-organization took place. The prospect then grew fairer, and fortunately the administration since Martin's death had been in the hands of two men of first-rate capacity, Lenoir and Dumas. Shortly after the latter of these took office, he was involved in matters of a very serious nature. For Pondichery was again threatened by the Maráthas who had invaded the Karnátak and overthrown Dost Ali, an ally of the French, at the

Damálcheri Pass where the Nawáb perished. His widow and dependents sought and obtained refuge with Dumas; and on his refusal to surrender them, the Marátha chief threatened to destroy the French settlement. Dumas, however, negotiated so adroitly that he was left in peace, and the Nawáb's successor, Safdar Ali, was so impressed with the conduct of Dumas, that on the departure of the Marátha he ceded territory to the French which brought in a yearly revenue of Rs.10,000. The King of Delhi also conferred upon Dumas the title of Nawáb and the rank of Commander of 4,500 horse—dignities which Dumas obtained permission to transfer to his successor. This successor was the celebrated Dupleix, the history of whose rule is almost the history of French power in India. Dupleix assumed his Governorship in October, 1741, and with his advent, and as a result of his policy, we enter upon the struggles between the French and the English which were to be continued with little intermission until, shortly after his fall, the French power in India was completely broken. On his arrival Dupleix found many causes for anxiety. The lands of the French settlement were suffering from the effects of the Marátha invasion, the Karnátak was threatened by the Subahdár of the Dakhan, and there were indications that in Europe a war between France and England was imminent. So far from Dupleix receiving a generous support from home, his directors were pressing upon him the necessity of reducing expenditure and of suspending all outlay upon the fortifications of Pondichery, which were very inadequate for defence. The latter order



he took upon himself to disobey, spending a good deal of his own private fortune upon the work and being rewarded not only by the grateful acknowledgments of the directors, but shortly afterwards by the more substantial good fortune of beating off the English attack. For, on the breaking out of the war of the Austrian succession, France and England took opposite sides, and their quarrel in Europe was quickly echoed in the East. At first the French had the better of it. Madras was captured in 1746 by the French admiral Labourdonnais, and Dupleix took possession of the place. His next attempt was upon Fort St. David. Here, however, failure awaited him, the French forces being beaten back to Pondichery and that place itself being blockaded by the English admiral, Boscawen. It was now that Dupleix's wise precautions bore fruit. Pondichery held out till the monsoon set in and compelled the fleet to weigh anchor. In 1749 the Peace of Aix la Chapelle necessitated the restitution of Madras; but though in point of territory the French had gained nothing from the struggle in India, their capture of Madras and the failure of the English to take Pondichery, had put the French much higher than the English in the estimation of the native states—a result which meant a great deal in the re-opening of hostilities that so shortly followed. The occasion of this re-opening was a quarrel between native powers arising out of the disputed succession to the Vice-royalty of the Dakhan, the rivals each invoking European aid. The French espoused the cause of Muzaffar Jang, whom his father had nominated as his successor, the English lent their aid to Nádir Jang, the second son, who had

seized his father's treasure and proclaimed himself Subahdár; while confederate with the former was Chanda Sahib, son-in-law of Dost Ali, and claimant of the Nawábi of the Karnátak, with the latter, Anwár-ud-din, the actual Nawáb. In the first encounter at Ambur Anwár-ud-din was defeated and slain. But Nádir Jang, who had not yet come into the field, remained to be reckoned with; and Chanda Sahib having neglected to follow out Dupleix's instructions to seize Trichinopoli without delay, his troops abandoned him on the approach of Nádir Jang's army and fell back on Pondichery. The consequence was that the whole of the Karnátak fell into the possession of Nádir Jang, who was joined by Muhammad Ali, son of Anwár-ud-din, and, more important still, by Major Lawrence with six hundred Englishmen under his command. Dupleix, smarting at the failure of his plans due to Chanda Sahib's folly, was as resolute as ever, and at once took measures to repair the mistake. A further disappointment was in store for him. D'Auteuil, to whom he gave the command of the French force sent to oppose Nádir Jang, failed him owing to the insubordination of his officers and men, and was obliged to retire upon Pondichery. Severely punishing these renegades, Dupleix planned a surprise of Nádir Jang's camp and put the execution of his design into the hands of a brilliant young officer named De la Touche, having in the interval since D'Auteuil's failure won over several of the nobles in Nádir Jang's service. The surprise was a complete success, and the Subahdár hastily retreated on Arcot. His retreat left Muhammad Ali without support. He was, however,

reinforced by 20,000 men sent him by Nádir Jang, and by a force of 400 Englishmen and 1500 sipáhis under Captain Cope. The combined forces made an attempt upon the position of D'Auteuil, but were beaten back with loss, and a difference between the two commanders breaking out during the retreat, the English returned to Fort St. David, while Muhammad Ali encamped on the river Panár. Dupleix saw the falseness of the position thus taken up, and sent D'Auteuil to storm his camp. This operation was successfully carried out and Muhammad Ali fled to the fortress of Gingi, then regarded by the natives as impregnable. Bussy, who was soon to make himself so famous, marched upon the place, defeated the troops in front of it, gained the town, and in the darkness of the night escalated the citadels on the summits of three steep mountains, covered by a cordon of advanced works. This daring exploit made a great impression. "It roused Nádir Jang," says Malleson, "from the careless dissipation of his easy life. It terrified Muhammad Ali. It produced the general conviction that the French were irresistible." Dupleix offered terms to Nádir Jang, but these were refused. A period of inaction ensued owing to an unusually fierce rainy season. This pause Dupleix turned to account by intriguing with the chiefs on whom Nádir Jang so largely depended, and Nádir Jang, sick of a protracted campaign which gave so little room for the indulgence of his sensual pleasures, was before long ready to accept the terms that had been offered by Dupleix three months earlier. Orders were therefore sent to D'Auteuil to suspend military operations pending the

receipt of further instructions. D'Auteuil at the moment was ill, and the command had devolved upon De la Touche. That officer, carefully maintaining the secret correspondence with the disaffected nobles of Nádir Jang's army, had learnt from them that the Subahdár had no intention of adhering to the terms into which he had expressed his willingness to enter. He therefore wrote to Dupleix that his orders had come too late, as he had arranged with the confederate nobles to make the attempt upon the Subahdár's camp that night. The attack was accordingly made, and, the chiefs keeping to their engagement with De la Touche, the troops about Nádir Jang began to fall back, and the Nawáb of Cuddapah, one of the leading rebels, coming up shot him through the heart. Muzaffar Jang was at once recognized as Subahdár, and proceeded to Pondichery to show his gratitude to Dupleix. There at the "first formal meeting," says Malleson, "Muzaffar Jang, in open darbár, conferred upon the French Governor the title of Nawáb of the territories between the river Krishna and Cape Comorin, including Maisur and the entire Karnátik; he bestowed upon him as a personal gift the village of Valdávar, with the lands depending upon it; he created him a Commander of Seven Thousand, one of the highest honours known under the Mughals; he directed that the French coins should be the recognized currency of Southern India; he confirmed the sovereignty of the French Company over Masulipatam and Yanáon, and finally assured Dupleix that he was the adviser to whom he would turn in all his political actions." \* Dupleix refused to accept the

\* *Dupleix*, pp. 91, 2.

dignity of Nawáb of the Karnátak, and begged the Subahdár to confer it upon Chanda Sáhib, which was accordingly done. The result of De la Touche's victory was profitable to the French in many ways. It gave them a large sum of ready money, and extensive territorial acquisitions. But it also enabled them to spread their nets over a wider area. For the Subahdár proposed that a French force, paid from his treasury, should be stationed at his capital under the command of a French officer. The proposal was eagerly accepted, and Bussy with three hundred men accompanied the Subahdár to Haidarábád, where he gained a paramount influence in the Vice-regal councils, while at the same time the French Government was relieved of the burden of maintaining a larger force than Pondichery required for its defence. All was now going well for French interests,—Muhammad Ali having accepted conditions which left Chanda Sáhib without a rival,—when only a few weeks later Muzaffar Jang was killed in suppressing an outbreak of the very chiefs to whose intrigues he owed his elevation to the throne. Muzaffar Jang left one son, an infant, and Bussy recognizing that in India minorities always give incentives to intriguers, promptly determined to instal on the throne Salábat Jang, uncle of this infant, and so maintain the influence which the French had already gained. Salábat's gratitude was shown by the cession of fresh territory, and the French power in India was now at its highest pitch. Through Bussy and the Subahdár Dupleix's "influence," says Malleson,\* was "supreme in the territories now known as the territories of the Nizám. It was soon

\* *Dupleix*, pp. 96, 7.

to become supreme in the territories called by the English the 'Northern Sirkárs,' comprising Ganjá, Vizagapatam, Godáveri, and Krishna. It was supreme in the territories subsequently known as the 'ceded Districts,' comprising Cuddapah, Karnúl, and Belláry. Through Chandá Sáhib, it was equally supreme in the Karnátak, with the exception of Trichinopoli, held by Muhammad Ali, and of Tanjore, governed by its own prince. Excepted, too, must be Madras and Fort St. David, in which, however, at the moment, the English showed few signs of life. Apparently their influence had sunk to zero. For the moment, then, the astute ruler of Pondichery had triumphed all along the line. He could not detect the presence of the vestige of a cloud on the horizon. His one enemy, Muhammad Ali, had offered to come into his scheme. The English were inactive, and apparently hopeless of interfering with his plans. What was there, then, which could possibly prevent the successful development of his far-reaching schemes? He could detect nothing. The English equally could detect nothing. Yet, though they knew it not, there was brooding amid the silence of Fort St. David a man who did accomplish that apparently impossible feat." The man was of course Clive. But, before coming to Clive's appearance on the scene, we have to note several mistakes made by the French at the very moment when the opportunity seemed to have come for consolidating their supremacy. Muhammad Ali had agreed on certain conditions to recognize Chanda Sáhib as Nawáb of the Karnátak and to surrender Trichinopoli with its dependencies. One con-

dition was that he should receive a subordinate province in lieu of the Karnatak, and a guarantee to this effect had been given him by Dupleix. When, however, he was pressed to fulfil his part of the agreement, Muhammad Ali hesitated and then asked for fresh guarantees. Meanwhile he was imploring aid from the English, and on a promise being made him of an English force, he threw off the mask and refused to give up Trichinopoli. Dupleix at once sent D'Auteuil with 400 Frenchmen and some guns to co-operate with Chanda Sahib in seizing the place. D'Auteuil blundered and disobeyed his instruction. But De Gingen, commander of the English contingent sent to Muhammad Ali's aid, also blundered and gave D'Auteuil an opportunity, which, if promptly seized, would have enabled him to end the struggle with a crushing defeat. This opportunity was neglected, but another soon offered itself. Again the French and their allies allowed victory to slip through their hands; and as the result of a long series of operations, the French were completely worsted, Chanda Sahib perished, and Muhammad Ali was left master of the Karnatak. But his position was by no means secure. His allies, the Maráthas and the troops of Maisur, fell out among themselves, and ultimately both contingents left him. These discords for some time tied Muhammad Ali's hands, and when at last he was able to quit Trichinopoli, it was necessary to leave behind him a garrison of 200 Englishmen and 1500 sipáhis for the protection of that fortress against his former allies. The breathing time thus given to Dupleix had been utilized by him in disciplining the drafts sent out

from home. Good fortune attended him in another way, for Clive and Lawrence had been forced by ill-health to return to Madras, and the command of the English forces was left in the hands of De Gingen. That officer, under instructions from the Governor of Madras, sent a detachment to seize the fortress of Gingi. The attempt was a failure owing to the promptitude with which Dupleix had thrown in reinforcements, and the success of the French had the usual effect upon the native powers. Both the Maráthas and the Maisur troops offered active co-operation on condition of being allowed to prosecute their own design against Trichinopoli. Encouraging them in this undertaking, Dupleix felt himself strong enough to assume the offensive against the English, and sent a force to blockade Fort St. David. A disaster resulted. For Lawrence, roused from his sick bed at Madras, encountered De Kerjean about two miles from Fort St. David, and, in an action in which the European forces on both sides fought with splendid courage, thoroughly routed him. Closely following upon this misfortune came the news that De la Touche, from whose arrival Dupleix hoped so much, had perished at sea with 700 soldiers. This was a terrible blow. But Dupleix would not give in. With his Marátha and Maisur allies he planned an investment of Trichinopoli, and kept Lawrence well occupied in his endeavour to relieve the beleaguered place. In vain did Lawrence attempt to force an engagement. As soon as he approached, the allies withdrew within their intrenchments. Reinforced by 200 men from Madras, Lawrence determined upon an assault. But



a reconnaissance in force showed him that the attempt would not succeed, and shortly afterwards he received despatches from Dalton, in command at Trichinopoli, telling him that he was blockaded on all sides and had but three weeks' supplies of provisions. It was imperative, therefore, to hurry to Dalton's relief. Reaching Trichinopoli, Lawrence marched out to attack the French at Srivangam, but his force was too weak for active operations against the island, and, being still in poor health, he withdrew within the fort. The French leader, Astruc, now took up a commanding position, which, if he could maintain it, would enable him to cut off all supplies from Trichinopoli and so compel its surrender. Lawrence attacked Astruc, and inflicted such a defeat that he resigned his command and returned to Pondichery. He was succeeded by Brennier, whom also Lawrence completely routed. During his flight to the banks of the Káveri, Brennier was unexpectedly joined by Astruc with large reinforcements. Astruc took the command, but only to be again defeated by Lawrence. While this struggle was still undecided Dupleix received instructions from home to make peace with the English. The Directors of the Company, unable to see in the same light with Dupleix the advantages to be derived from his extensive ambition, mortified at the expenditure of lives upon unsuccessful projects, and clamorous at the falling off of their dividends, were determined that the operations of the Company should be restricted to the original and legitimate objects of its existence. Dupleix himself was not unwilling to have peace, so long as it could be purchased without the sacrifice of the con-

cessions he had received from the Subahdár. But the English Governor would not listen to the terms offered, and Dupleix, who had received reinforcements from France, determined not to give up the game without another throw. A secret attack upon Trichinopoli was organized with great skill. It was well nigh successful, for the defenders were taken asleep and one of the chief batteries captured. At this moment some French soldiers, elate at their good fortune, were foolish enough to fire upon the town. The garrison was aroused; the English had the great advantage of knowing where they were, while the French, their guide having been killed, were morally and literally in the dark. The result was that three-fourths of their force was made prisoners. The blow was fatal to Dupleix. Nothing was left him but to make such terms as he could with the Governor of Madras. Negotiations began, but whatever other concessions Dupleix was prepared to make, he would not give way in regard to the Nawábi of the Karnátak which had been conferred upon him. The Commission empowered to make peace therefore broke up, and hostilities were resumed. Some slight successes had inspirited Dupleix when the news came that M. Godeheu was on his way to relieve him of his Governorship. On Godeheu's arrival Dupleix, ruined in fortune and in reputation, returned to France, where, after years vainly spent in seeking for justice and for restitution of the money which, on Godeheu's representations, had been infamously withheld from him, he died a pauper in 1764. Meanwhile Godeheu had effectually made peace with the English by surrendering everything that Dupleix thought it vital to retain.

Godeheu was succeeded by M. Duval de Leyrit, who followed the same policy of non-intervention in native disputes which Godeheu had laid down. But in 1756, when war again broke out between France and England, the French Ministers awoke to the fact that they had blundered terribly in not supporting Dupleix's designs. A large force was despatched to India, a force supposed to be sufficient to drive the English out of southern India. It was under the command of the celebrated Lally, who, from his earliest youth, "had been trained in the French armies, had merited at Fontenoy the commendations of Marshal Saxe; who had taken part in the '45, and had fought at Laffeldt." Even before Lally's arrival De Leyrit had been compelled, much against his will, to resume the policy of Dupleix, and had sent D'Auteuil to surprise the English at Trichinopoli. D'Auteuil effected nothing. Saubinet, who displaced him, at all events compelled the English to act on the defensive, and in a short time he was strongly reinforced by the arrival of the first detachment of Lally's troops under the Chevalier de Soupire. At this moment southern India was almost denuded of English troops, the greater portion having been sent to assist Clive in Bengal, and a splendid opportunity was given for decisive action. Yet, De Soupire, who had taken command, determined to await Lally's arrival. With that event active measures were resumed. But Lally, great soldier as he was, had none of Dupleix's tact and diplomacy. He scorned the natives; he made enemies of his colleagues in the government of Pondichery; he unwisely summoned Bussy from the Court of the Subahdár, and Moracin

from the Northern Sarkárs, and by replacing the latter by the Marquis of Conflans, who was a complete stranger to Indian politics, he sacrificed the influence that had been so hardly gained by Dupleix and was so essential to French interests. Nevertheless, Lally at first gained some striking successes. He took without difficulty both Gudalur and Fort St. David, and was only hindered by want of funds from pushing on to Madras. In his need he endeavoured to wring money from the Rája of Tanjor. Failing in this, he was about to assault the Rája's stronghold when news reached him that the French fleet had been beaten off the coast, and that the English were threatening his base. Returning to Pondichery, and obtaining three lakhs of rupees which the Admiral had taken from a Dutch vessel, he marched upon Arcot, which fell without a blow. Then, joined by Bussy and Moracin, he pushed on to besiege Madras. After taking the Black Town and effecting a breach in the fortifications, he was about to make a night assault when the English fleet appeared off the coast. On the following day he was constrained to raise the siege. Another serious disappointment awaited him. One of the Rájas of the Northern Sarkárs seized the opportunity of Bussy's withdrawal to assert his independence, and Clive had despatched Colonel Forde with a small number of troops to his assistance. Forde met Conflans, defeated him, conquered the whole of the Northern Sarkárs, and compelled the Subahdár of the Dakhan to transfer his alliance from the French to the English. Lally himself was soon to meet with a crushing reverse. After many delays and many mischances, he rejoined

his army at Wandiwash, and marched with it to Arcot. During his absence Eyre Coote had taken Wandiwash. Lally now made an effort to regain the place. But on the 21st of January, 1760, he was attacked and routed by Eyre Coote. The victory of the English was decisive. "It dealt," says Malleson,\* "a fatal and decisive blow to French domination in India; it shattered to the ground the mighty fabric which Martin, Dumas, and Dupleix had contributed to erect; it dissipated all the hopes of Lally; it sealed the fate of Pondichery." Arcot, Devikota, and Karikál at once fell into the hands of the English. In September Pondichery was invested. On the 15th of January following it surrendered. Lally, taken prisoner, was sent to England, and, when allowed to return to France, met at the same hands the same cruel treatment with Dupleix. One more attempt was to be made to restore French influence in India. Though the Treaty of Paris in 1763 restored Pondichery to France, yet on the renewal of war in 1778 it was again seized by the English, and with it Chandranagar and Mahé. All now seemed lost, when the war with Haidar Ali again aroused the hopes of the French. Haidar Ali had never forgiven the English for refusing to help him, as they were by treaty bound to do, against the Maráthas. When, therefore, the English took Mahé, which he considered under his protection, he seized the pretext to declare war. In a short time having out-manœuvred Munro, beaten Baillie, and captured Arcot, he had laid siege to Wandiwash, Vellor, Ambar, Permakol, and Chengalpat. Further, he had got be-

\* *History of the French in India*, p 560.

tween Sir Eyre Coote and Madras, and, following that general on his way to Pondichery, from which the small English garrison had been expelled by the French, he carefully occupied the strong places on the way. Coote was now between Haidar and the sea, cut off from the inland, and with his supplies exhausted. To secure his destruction, all that Haidar needed was that the French fleet under D'Orves should keep command of the sea for a short time. This D'Orves refused to do, and, on his quitting the coast, English vessels arrived with provisions from Madras and saved Coote's force. Haidar, thus left to himself, fought two battles with Coote, in the former of which he was beaten, while in the latter, though not beaten, he found it wiser to retreat. But about this time the French despatched a powerful squadron under the greatest of her admirals, Suffren, with a force of nearly 3000 men under the renowned Bussy. Pending the arrival of Bussy, the French land force was placed under the command of Admiral Duchemin who had come out in charge of the fleet of which D'Orves had failed to make any use. Duchemin and Haidar joined hands at Permakol, and to meet an army of 60,000 native troops backed by 2000 Frenchmen Coote could number but 12,000 men, of whom 2000 were Europeans. Yet so great was his anxiety to prevent the fall of Wandiwash that Coote offered battle to the overwhelming army opposed to him. Haidar was eager to accept the offer, but Duchemin preferred to await Bussy's arrival and would not take the responsibility of an engagement. Before Bussy reached India, Haidar was dead, and Bussy himself when he landed proved a

very different man from the Bussy of earlier days. He would undertake nothing, and would sanction nothing. He allowed himself to be blockaded in Gudalur by an English force inferior in the number of its Europeans, and when news arrived that peace had been signed between France and England, he readily entered into an armistice, and soon afterwards the Peace of Versailles put an end to the war. Since that time no attempt has been made to found a French empire in India, and the only result of Dupleix's ambitious and, for the time being, well calculated projects, has been that England in great measure following his initiative has made herself mistress of the whole peninsula. Colonel Malleon, in his *Life of Dupleix*, from which I have already quoted, and from which this sketch of the French in India has been derived, says with a good deal of justice,\* "Now that the lapse of nearly a century and a half has cleared away the passions and prejudices of that exciting period; now that from the basis of accomplished facts we can examine the ideas and conceptions of the men who were the pioneers of European conquest on Indian soil, there lives not a candid Englishman who will deny to Dupleix the credit of having been the first to devise the method by which European predominance on Indian soil might be established. His work did not endure, because it was his misfortune to be compelled to employ inferior tools, whilst his rivals were led by men of extraordinary capacity. It did not last because just at the moment when his plans might have been realized he was recalled at the instance of

\* Pp. 160, 1.

the immemorial enemy of France, on the eve, moreover, of a war, which for the seven years that were to follow, was to try the resources of France against that very enemy. But the effect of his schemes survived him, the ground he had so well watered and fertilized, the capabilities of which he had proved, was almost immediately after his departure occupied by his rivals, with the immense result which is one of the wonders of the present day." That Dupleix was the first to start on the right road towards European conquest in India will probably be allowed on all hands. Whether, if he had been better served, the result in the long run would have been affected, is a different question, and the view held by Malleison and others has been ably criticized by a writer to whom I have already referred, Sir Alfred Lyall. "To those," he says,\* "who maintain that, but for the blindness of the French Government towards the ideas of Dupleix, the blunders of colleagues or subordinates, and the final disavowal of Dupleix, France might have supplanted England in India—the true answer is that these views betray a disregard of historic proportion, and an incomplete survey of the whole situation. They proceed on the narrow theory that extensive political changes may hang on the event of a small battle, or on the behaviour at some critical moment of a provincial general or governor. The strength and resources of France and England in their contests for the possession of empires are not to be measured after this fashion, or to be weighed in such nice balances. It may even be questioned whether the result of the

\* *Rise of the British Dominion in India*, pp. 79, 83, 4.



confused irregular struggle between the two Companies in the Indian peninsula told decisively one way or the other upon the final event. The Carnatic war, being unofficial, was necessarily inconclusive, for neither French nor English dared openly to strike home at each other's settlements; while even if this had been done indirectly through native auxiliaries, the home governments must have interfered earlier. The system of private or auxiliary war gave Dupleix this temporary advantage against the English, that it was necessarily confined to the land, where he was the stronger; for as the two nations were at peace their fleets could not take part in it. On the outbreak of national hostilities three years later, the naval strength of England came into play with decisive effect. . . . The true state and inevitable tendency of the contest between the two nations in India has been recognized by M. Marion, in his study of the history of French finance between 1749 and 1754. In defending Machault d'Arnouville, the Controller-General of that period, from the imputation of having sacrificed an empire in Asia by recalling Dupleix, he shows that if the French Government had retained his services and supported his policy, the ultimate event could not have been materially changed. The whole fabric of territorial predominance which Dupleix had been so industriously building up was loosely and hastily cemented; it depended upon the superiority of a few mercenary troops, the perilous friendship of Eastern princes, and the personal qualities of those in command on the spot. It was thus exposed to all the winds of fortune, and had no sure foundation. The first thing needful before any solid dominion

could be erected by the French in India was to secure their communications with Europe by breaking the power of the English at sea; but this stroke was beyond the strength of the French in 1754. . . . When the Seven Years' War began in 1756, the French did make a vigorous attempt to regain command of the water-ways; and it must be clear that to their failure in that direct trial of naval strength, far more than to their abandonment of the policy of Dupleix, must be attributed the eventual disappearance of their prospects of establishing a permanent ascendancy in India."

## THE RISE, GROWTH, AND DECLINE OF THE MARÁTHA POWERS.

IN Macaulay's *Essays* on Clive and Hastings mention of the Maráthas is necessarily frequent, and it will probably be convenient to students to have some connected narrative of the part they have played in Indian history. The following brief sketch, taken in the main from Mr. H. G. Keene's monograph on Mádhava Ráo Sindhia and Sir A. Lyall's history of the *Rise of the British Dominion in India*, will, I hope, enable them to follow the fortunes of this race, more especially in regard to its points of contact with the British power.

Maharáshtra, a tract of country bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the Narbada, on the east by the Wain-ganga, and on the south by the Krishna rivers, was a Hindu kingdom in very early times, with its capital at Kalyán, near the modern city of Bombay. The name *Marhat* for its inhabitants occurs in the history of Muhammad Tughlak in the fourteenth century, and shortly afterwards we find mention of them in connection with the Musalmán kingdom of Bijápur, where they were known as light cavalry, and seem to have taught the Bijápur Musalmáns that system of guerilla warfare to which the kingdom owed its ability to resist its enemies for nearly two hundred years. But the growth of this extraordinary race dates from the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jáhán, and the period which will be dealt with in this sketch extends only from about 1650 to 1818. Sháh Jáhán's efforts to overthrow the Bijápur dynasty brought about the first troubles. At that time the nominal ruler of Bijápur was a minor, and the regency was held by a Marátha captain, Sháhji Bhonsla. Sháhji resisted Sháh Jáhán's attempts, and from this period the Maráthas began to assert themselves as a distinct power. Their activity was first shown in raids upon immediate neighbours, but these were mere spasmodic acts of plunder directed by no systematic policy. When, however, the Muslim power in the Dakhan began to crumble to pieces they adopted wider aims, and fully organized the practice of levying contributions on the subjects of other states, till at last their incursions came to spread over almost the whole

peninsula. It was not territorial power, at all events until a much later period, that they desired. The elaborate requirements of ordered rule they gladly left to others, so long as a descent upon fertile provinces and rich hoards gave them booty to be squandered in reckless enjoyment, and means for the subsistence of an ever-increasing host of free lances. The black-mail they modestly exacted was twenty-five *per cent.* of the revenue of the invaded territory, and so merciless was their style of warfare, and so swift and irresistible their swoop, that for the most part no serious effort was made to escape their exactions. The germs of an organization, which in its development made the Maráthas the most formidable power the English later on had to reckon with, were planted by Sháhji's son Siváji, who raised a regularly paid army, possessed himself of forts, and finally assumed the functions and insignia of a king. So large a stride towards consolidation was made under his rule that at the death of Aurangzeb, or shortly afterwards, the civil administration of the Hindus in Maháráshtra had developed into a well-knit power. Under the Rája, its nominal head, was a council of eight, whose president bore the title of Peshwa. The first of these Peshwas was Báláji Viswanáth, who had entered the service of Sáhu, Siváji's grandson. By his conspicuous business abilities he shortly became the most important person in the government, and vigorously addressed himself to the task of confirming order and a settled system of rule in Maháráshtra. The right to levy *chauth* in the six imperial provinces of the Dakhan had been formally ceded to Sáhu in 1709. This concession was confirmed to Báláji, and in return the Rája of Maháráshtra was bound to pay a fixed annual cess to the imperial treasury, and to provide the emperor with a specified force of Maráthas whenever called upon to do so. The Rája was in fact to be nominally a vassal of the emperor, but the compact gave to Báláji's schemes a firmness of foundation they had hitherto lacked. In the midst of his efforts at consolidation of power, Báláji died in 1720, and was succeeded by his son, Báji Ráo, a man even more remarkable than his father, and with wider range of ambition. He aimed, indeed, at supreme power in Hindustán, entered into a long war with the Nizám-ul-mulk in the south, made himself master of the rich provinces of Málwa and Orissa, and attempted the conquest of the Karnátak. He also contrived to acquire for his descendants the office of Peshwa as an hereditary dignity, and the leadership of the Maráthá confederation which was shortly to branch out in four principal chiefships, that of the Bhonsla Rája in Berár, the Gaekwár in Baroda, Holkar in the south of Málwa, and Sindhia in the north-east of the same province. But a severe reverse was in store for the Maráthas. Success had tempted them too far; for the Mughal power being shattered, and Ahmad the Abdáli having retired to Afghánistán with

his plunder of Dehli and the Panjáb, Raghunáth Ráo, brother of Báji Ráo, supported by the contingents of Sindhia and Holkar, marched northward, seized Dehli, pushed on to Lahore, drove out the governor left by Ahmad, and substituted a Marátha administration in the Panjáb. This insolence was too much for Ahmad. In the winter of 1759-60 he came sweeping down into the Panjáb, retook Lahore, drove the Maráthas out of the northern country, and defeated Holkar and Sindhia with heavy loss. The Peshwa despatched from Puna a large force to repair these disasters, and in January, 1761, the Afgháns with their Musalmán allies met the Maráthas on the field of Pá nipat. The result was a decisive victory for the Afgháns, and the Maráthas were for the time swept out of Northern India. The defeat was a crushing blow to Báji Ráo, and he died in the following June of a broken heart. His mantle fell on the celebrated Mádhava Ráo, otherwise called Mádhóji, an illegitimate son of the slipper-bearer, Ránoji Sindhia, who for his fidelity to Báláji Viswanáth had obtained a fief in Northern Málwa and made Ujjain his head quarters. During the next dozen years the various Marátha powers rapidly recovered from the blow inflicted on them at Pá nipat, and were soon threatening every prince and state in India from the Satlaj river southward to Cape Comorin. In Western India they were supreme; in Rájputána and Central India they plundered at their leisure, and they were incessantly making predatory incursions north-eastward into the fertile plains watered by the Ganges and the Jamna to harry the lands of the Oudh Wazir, of the Pathán settlement in Rohilkhand, and of the Musalmán chiefships about Dehli, Agra, and Allahábád. In 1771 they were demanding the surrender of Kora and Allahábád made over to the emperor by the East India Company in return for his grant of the Diwáni, and in 1773 they came into collision with the English by threatening the territory of the Rohillas, and though driven back they still remained a menace to the English frontier. A much more serious struggle with the English power was soon to be entered upon in Western India. There a Marátha chief, Raghunáth Ráo, who had been deposed from power at Puna, sought aid from the Company, and this the Bombay Government unwisely promised on condition of his ceding the district of Bassem and the island of Salsette. The result was a protracted and unsatisfactory contest with the chief Marátha powers in which the English, weakly led, blundered from one expedition to another, found themselves unable to restore their *protégé*, and gained nothing but the enduring resentment of the Maráthas, who might much better have been left to settle their quarrels among themselves. So wide, moreover, was their range of operations that the English had to encounter them in the south, where they took the side of England's inveterate enemy, Haidar Ali, at the same time that

Sindhia was threatening in the north-west, and the Peshwa was equally active near Bombay. Sindhia was by this time fast becoming the most powerful chief of the confederation, and had extended his conquests from Central India northward towards Agra and Dehli. In the collision which took place with the English his fortress at Gwáliár was captured; and Sindhia, never very eager to match himself against a power which he hoped might be useful to him as an ally in the wide-reaching aims of his ambition, was not unwilling to come to terms. It was arranged, therefore, that he should be allowed to prosecute his designs upon those portions of country round Dehli which were still retained by the Mughal emperor, on condition of his mediating between the English and the Marátha confederates. By the treaty of Sálbai, in which the English had to make considerable sacrifices, the war came to an end, Gwáliár and Ujjain, together with all his previous possessions south and west, being restored to Sindhia. From this time forward till his death Sindhia stands out as the prominent figure of Marátha power and influence. One by one his chief opponents, the Játs, Rájputs, Patháns, Ráthors, and Musalmáns yielded to his arms or to his policy. By 1792 he had wrung from the Mughal emperor the title of Vicegerent of the empire, the whole powers of which he thenceforth virtually wielded as his own, and in the autumn of that year he shattered the forces of his great rival in the Marátha confederation, Holkar of Indor. Early, however, in 1794 his life came to a sudden end, and the English were freed from a presence, which, if actively arrayed against them, might have had serious consequences to the consolidation of their mastery in India. Mádhaji Sindhia's power passed into the hands of his grand-nephew, Daulat Ráo; but his death by no means marked any collapse of Marátha activity. In 1795 their ubiquitous forces marched down upon the Nizám at Haidarábád, dispersed his army, and forced him to an ignominious surrender. In 1798 Daulat Ráo Sindhia was firmly established at Puna, and was the most considerable prince in Central and Northern India. Holkar and the Rája of Nágpur were masters of large forces and extensive territory, and none of them had forgotten their hostility to the English. What might have been the result of a general combination can only be surmised. But, fortunately for the British power in India, no such policy prevailed. On the contrary, in 1801 Sindhia, Holkar, and the Rája of Nágpur were at each other's throats in a fierce struggle for supremacy. There was also bitter enmity between the Peshwa and Holkar; and when in 1803 Sindhia came to the assistance of the former, a great battle ensued in which the allied armies were utterly crushed. The result was one by which Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General, took care to profit. For the Peshwa now sued to the English for their help, and taking refuge at Bassein, close to Bombay, signed a treaty of general defensive alliance

with the British government, under which a strong subsidiary force, to be furnished by the English and paid by the Peshwa, was to be permanently stationed within his territory, and all his foreign relations were to be subordinated to the policy of England. The remaining Marátha powers, however, still had to be dealt with. And they now broke out into open hostilities, the chief of Nágpur organizing a league against the English, and with Sindhia marching up to the frontier of Haidarábád. Holkar refused to join the league, and the Gaekwár held aloof. The confederates therefore paused, hoping to win over Holkar. But Lord Wellesley, who was as anxious to bring matters to a crisis as they were to gain time, gave orders to General Wellesley, who was facing Sindhia in the west, and to General Lake, who was moving upon Sindhia's possessions in the north-west, to press the war with vigour. Accordingly General Wellesley called upon Sindhia and the Nágpur Rájá to withdraw their army from the Nizám's borders. This they refused to do, and the consequence was the battle of Assaye in which Wellesley obtained a decisive victory. He next inflicted a severe defeat upon the troops of the Nágpur Rájá at Argáon, and took by storm the hill forts of Gáwilgarh. Lake was equally active in the north-west. He took Alígarh by assault, dispersed Sindhia's force before Dehli, besieged and captured Agra, and finally at Láswári routed the last of Sindhia's regular army. "The result," says Sir A. Lyall,\* "of these well-contested and hardly won victories was to shatter the whole military organization upon which Sindia's predominance had been built up, to break down his connection with the Moghul court in the north, and to destroy his influence at Poona as the most formidable member of the Maratha confederacy. Both Sindia and the Nagpore Rájá, finding themselves in imminent danger of losing all their possessions, acquiesced reluctantly in the terms that were dictated to them after the destruction of their armies. The treaty of Bassein was formally recognized; they entered into defensive treaties and made large cessions of territory. Sindia gave up to the British all his northern districts lying along both sides of the Jumna river; he ceded his sea-ports and his conquests on the west coast; he made over to them the city of Delhi and the custody of the Mogul emperor; he dismissed all his French officers, and accepted the establishment, at his cost, of a large British force to be stationed near his frontier. The Rájá of Nagpore restored Berar to the Nizám, and surrendered to the British government the province of Cuttack, on the Bay of Bengal, which lay interposed between the upper districts of Madras and the south-western districts of Bengal." Holkar still remained to be reckoned with. He had been hoping to profit by Sindhia's discomfiture, and now thought to take

\* *Rise of the British Dominion in India*, pp 227, 8.

advantage of his defenceless condition. He was, therefore, summoned by Lake to retire within his own territories, and on his refusal was attacked by the British troops. Although for a time Holkar had followed Sindhia's example of maintaining a staff of European officers and of drilling his troops after the European fashion, he had before this returned to the traditional Marátha tactics of rapid cavalry movements. His object was to evade a regular engagement, and it was not without a prolonged effort that Lake surprised and finally dispersed his bands. Holkar at last took refuge in the Panjáb, whence he returned only to sign a treaty on terms similar to those imposed upon Sindhia and the Nágpur Rája. For some years there was peace between the English and the Maráthas. But in 1816 the Rhonsla Rája of Nágpur, with whom Lord Hastings had concluded a subsidiary treaty detaching him from the Marátha confederation, repented an engagement which tied his hands, and began to concert hostile measures with the Peshwa, who also was impatient of the restrictions placed upon him by alliance with the English. The latter, however, before actually plunging into another struggle realized the danger he incurred of being stripped of all his possessions, and again entered into negotiations with the English whereby, in exchange for an increased subsidiary force, he made further cessions of territory, and virtually renounced all pretensions to supremacy in the Marátha confederation. His good faith was of short duration. In the following year he broke into open hostility and attacked the British troops at Puna, the Nágpur Rája imitating him in his outbreak. Their combination quickly proved ineffectual. The Peshwa was routed and his forts seized. In 1818 he surrendered, and the greater part of his territories passed under the British sovereignty, he being allowed to reside at Bithúr on a pension of £80,000 a year, the non-continuance of which after his death made an enemy of his adopted son, Dhundu Panth, commonly known as "Nana Sahib." The Nágpur State had also to cede several important districts, and thenceforth the Marátha powers ceased to exist except as feudatories of the British rule.







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## LORD CLIVE.

WE have always thought it strange that, while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Sujah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo 10 or a Mussulman. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labour, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fish-bones, who regarded a horse-soldier as a monster, half man and half beast, who took a harquebusier for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at 20 the same time quite as highly civilised as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, vice-

roys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain. It might have been expected, that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is, to most readers, not  
10 only insipid but positively distasteful.

Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historians. Mr. Mill's book, though it has undoubtedly great and rare merit, is not sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement. Orme, inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting, is minute even to tediousness. In one volume he allots, on an average, a closely printed quarto page to the events of every forty-eight hours. The consequence is, that his narrative, though one of the most authentic and one of the most finely written  
20 in our language, has never been very popular, and is now scarcely ever read.

We fear that the volumes before us will not much attract those readers whom Orme and Mill have repelled. The materials placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm by the late Lord Powis were indeed of great value. But we cannot say that they have been very skilfully worked up. It would, however, be unjust to criticize with severity a work which, if the author had lived to complete and revise it, would probably have been improved by condensation and  
30 by a better arrangement. We are more disposed to perform the pleasing duty of expressing our gratitude to the noble family to which the public owes so much useful and curious information.

The effect of the book, even when we make the largest allowance for the partiality of those who have furnished and of those who have digested the materials, is, on the whole,

greatly to raise the character of Lord Clive. We are far indeed from sympathizing with Sir John Malcolm, whose love passes the love of biographers, and who can see nothing but wisdom and justice in the actions of his idol. But we are at least equally far from concurring in the severe judgment of Mr. Mill, who seems to us to show less discrimination in his account of Clive than in any other part of his valuable work. Clive, like most men who are born with strong passions and tried by strong temptations, committed great faults. But every person who takes a fair and enlightened 10 view of his whole career must admit that our island, so fertile in heroes and statesmen, has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council.

The Clives had been settled, ever since the twelfth century, on an estate of no great value, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire. In the reign of George the First, this moderate but ancient inheritance was possessed by Mr. Richard Clive, who seems to have been a plain man of no great tact or capacity. He had been bred to the law, and divided his time between professional business and the avo- 20 cations of a small proprietor. He married a lady from Manchester, of the name of Gaskill, and became the father of a very numerous family. His eldest son, Robert, the founder of the British empire in India, was born at the old seat of his ancestors on the twenty-ninth of September, 1725.

Some lineaments of the character of the man were early discerned in the child. There remain letters written by his relations when he was in his seventh year; and from these letters it appears that, even at that early age, his strong will and his fiery passions, sustained by a constitutional intre- 30 pidity which sometimes seemed hardly compatible with soundness of mind, had begun to cause great uneasiness to his family. "Fighting," says one of his uncles, "to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper such a fierceness and imperiousness, that he flies out on every trifling occasion." The old people of the neighbourhood still re-

member to have heard from their parents how Bob Clive climbed to the top of the lofty steeple of Market-Drayton, and with what terror the inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout near the summit. They also relate how he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory army, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and half-pence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from school to school, making very little progress in his learning,  
10 and gaining for himself every where the character of an exceedingly naughty boy. One of his masters, it is said, was sagacious enough to prophesy that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world. But the general opinion seems to have been that poor Robert was a dunce, if not a reprobate. His family expected nothing good from such slender parts and such a headstrong temper. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly accepted for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company, and shipped him off to make a  
20 fortune or to die of a fever at Madras.

Far different were the prospects of Clive from those of the youths whom the East India College now annually sends to the Presidencies of our Asiatic empire. The company was then purely a trading corporation. Its territory consisted of a few square miles, for which rent was paid to the native governments. Its troops were scarcely numerous enough to man the batteries of three or four ill-constructed forts, which had been erected for the protection of the warehouses. The natives, who composed a considerable part of  
30 these little garrisons, had not yet been trained in the discipline of Europe, and were armed, some with swords and shields, some with bows and arrows. The business of the servant of the Company was not, as now, to conduct the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country, but to take stock, to make advances to weavers, to ship cargoes, and above all to keep an eye on private traders who

dared to infringe the monopoly. The younger clerks were so miserably paid that they could scarcely subsist without incurring debt ; the elder enriched themselves by trading on their own account : and those who lived to rise to the top of the service often accumulated considerable fortunes.

Madras, to which Clive had been appointed, was, at this time, perhaps, the first in importance of the Company's settlements. In the preceding century, Fort St. George had arisen on a barren spot beaten by a raging surf ; and in the neighbourhood a town, inhabited by many thousands 10 of natives, had sprung up, as towns spring up in the East, with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd. There were already in the suburbs many white villas, each surrounded by its garden, whither the wealthy agents of the Company retired, after the labours of the desk and the warehouse, to enjoy the cool breeze which springs up at sunset from the Bay of Bengal. The habits of these mercantile grandees appear to have been more profuse, luxurious, and ostentatious, than those of the high judicial and political functionaries who have succeeded them. But comfort was far less 20 understood. Many devices which now mitigate the heat of the climate, preserve health, and prolong life, were unknown. There was far less intercourse with Europe than at present. The voyage by the Cape, which in our time has often been performed within three months, was then very seldom accomplished in six, and was sometimes protracted to more than a year. Consequently, the Anglo-Indian was then much more estranged from his country, much more addicted to Oriental usages, and much less fitted to mix in society after his return to Europe, than the Anglo-Indian 30 of the present day.

Within the fort and its precincts, the English governors exercised, by permission of the native rulers, an extensive authority, such as every great Indian landowner exercised within his own domain. But they had never dreamed of claiming independent power. The surrounding country was

governed by the Nabob of the Carnatic, a deputy of the Viceroy of the Deccan, commonly called the Nizam, who was himself only a deputy of the mighty prince designated by our ancestors as the Great Mogul. Those names, once so august and formidable, still remain. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives on a pension allowed to him by the English out of the revenues of the province which his ancestors ruled. There is still a Nizam, whose capital is overawed by a British cantonment, and to whom a British  
10 resident gives, under the name of advice, commands which are not to be disputed. There is still a Mogul, who is permitted to play at holding courts and receiving petitions, but who has less power to help or hurt than the youngest civil servant of the Company.

Clive's voyage was unusually tedious even for that age. The ship remained some months at the Brazils, where the young adventurer picked up some knowledge of Portuguese and spent all his pocket-money. He did not arrive in India till more than a year after he had left England. His situ-  
20 ation at Madras was most painful. His funds were exhausted. His pay was small. He had contracted debts. He was wretchedly lodged, no small calamity in a climate which can be made tolerable to an European only by spacious and well-placed apartments. He had been furnished with letters of recommendation to a gentleman who might have assisted him; but when he landed at Fort St. George he found that this gentleman had sailed for England. The lad's shy and haughty disposition withheld him from introducing himself to strangers. He was several months  
30 in India before he became acquainted with a single family. The climate affected his health and spirits. His duties were of a kind ill suited to his ardent and daring character. He pined for his home, and in his letters to his relations expressed his feelings in language softer and more pensive than we should have expected either from the waywardness of his boyhood, or from the inflexible sternness of his later



years. "I have not enjoyed," says he, "one happy day since I left my native country;" and again, "I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native England, it affects me in a very particular manner. . . . If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own country, but more especially Manchester, the centre of all my wishes, all that I could hope or desire for would be presented before me in one view."

One solace he found of the most respectable kind. The Governor possessed a good library, and permitted Clive to have access to it. The young man devoted much of his leisure to reading, and acquired at this time almost all the knowledge of books that he ever possessed. As a boy he had been too idle, as a man he soon became too busy, for literary pursuits.

But neither climate nor poverty, neither study nor the sorrows of a home-sick exile, could tame the desperate audacity of his spirit. He behaved to his official superiors as he had behaved to his schoolmasters, and was several times in danger of losing his situation. Twice, while residing in the Writers' Buildings, he attempted to destroy himself; and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off. This circumstance, it is said, affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein. After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded, he burst forth into an exclamation that surely he was reserved for something great.

About this time an event which at first seemed likely to destroy all his hopes in life suddenly opened before him a new path to eminence. Europe had been, during some 30 years, distracted by the war of the Austrian succession. George the Second was the steady ally of Maria Theresa. The house of Bourbon took the opposite side. Though England was even then the first of maritime powers, she was not, as she has since become, more than a match on the sea for all the nations of the world together; and she found

it difficult to maintain a contest against the united navies of France and Spain. In the eastern seas France obtained the ascendancy. Labourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, a man of eminent talents and virtues, conducted an expedition to the continent of India in spite of the opposition of the British fleet, landed, assembled an army, appeared before Madras, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate. The keys were delivered up; the French colours were displayed on Fort St. George; and the contents of the Company's warehouses were seized as prize of war by the conquerors. It was stipulated by the capitulation that the English inhabitants should be prisoners of war on parole, and that the town should remain in the hands of the French till it should be ransomed. Labourdonnais pledged his honour that only a moderate ransom should be required.

But the success of Labourdonnais had awakened the jealousy of his countryman, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. Dupleix, moreover, had already begun to revolve gigantic schemes, with which the restoration of Madras to the English was by no means compatible. He declared that Labourdonnais had gone beyond his powers; that conquests made by the French arms on the continent of India were at the disposal of the governor of Pondicherry alone; and that Madras should be rased to the ground. Labourdonnais was compelled to yield. The anger which the breach of the capitulation excited among the English was increased by the ungenerous manner in which Dupleix treated the principal servants of the Company. The Governor and several of the first gentlemen of Fort St. George were carried under a guard to Pondicherry, and conducted through the town in a triumphal procession under the eyes of fifty thousand spectators. It was with reason thought that this gross violation of public faith absolved the inhabitants of Madras from the engagements into which they had entered with Labourdonnais. Clive fled from the town by night in the disguise of a Mussulman, and took refuge at Fort St. David,

one of the small English settlements subordinate to Madras.

The circumstances in which he was now placed naturally led him to adopt a profession better suited to his restless and intrepid spirit than the business of examining packages and casting accounts. He solicited and obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company, and at twenty-one entered on his military career. His personal courage, of which he had, while still a writer, given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror of 10 Fort St. David, speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men. He soon began to show in his new calling other qualities which had not before been discerned in him, judgment, sagacity, deference to legitimate authority. He distinguished himself highly in several operations against the French, and was particularly noticed by Major Lawrence, who was then considered as the ablest British officer in India.

Clive had been only a few months in the army when intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between 20 Great Britain and France. Dupleix was in consequence compelled to restore Madras to the English Company; and the young ensign was at liberty to resume his former business. He did indeed return for a short time to his desk. He again quitted it in order to assist Major Lawrence in some petty hostilities with the natives, and then again returned to it. While he was thus wavering between a military and a commercial life, events took place which decided his choice. The politics of India assumed a new aspect. There was peace between the English and French 30 Crowns; but there arose between the English and French Companies trading to the East a war most eventful and important, a war in which the prize was nothing less than the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.

The empire which Baber and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and

splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Hindostan, amazed even travellers who had seen St. Peter's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys who held their posts by virtue of commissions from  
10 the Mogul ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony.

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental despotism and with all  
20 the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long series of crimes and public disasters. Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Hindoos, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the government from the mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of  
30 society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy. But throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe, the state, notwithstanding all that the vigour and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution. After his death, which took place in the year 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks from without co-operated with

an incurable decay which was fast proceeding within ; and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition

The history of the successors of Theodosius bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. But perhaps the fall of the Carlovingsians furnishes the nearest parallel to the fall of the Moguls. Charlemagne was scarcely interred when the imbecility and the disputes of his descendants began to bring contempt on themselves and destruction on their subjects. The wide dominion of the Franks was severed into a thousand pieces. Nothing more 10 than a nominal dignity was left to the abject heirs of an illustrious name, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple. Fierce invaders, differing from each other in race, language, and religion, flocked, as if by concert, from the farthest corners of the earth, to plunder provinces which the government could no longer defend. The pirates of the Northern Sea extended their ravages from the Elbe to the Pyrenees, and at length fixed their seat in the rich valley of the Seine. The Hungarian, in whom the trembling monks fancied that they recognised 20 the Gog or Magog of prophecy, carried back the plunder of the cities of Lombardy to the depths of the Pannonian forests. The Saracen ruled in Sicily, desolated the fertile plains of Campania, and spread terror even to the walls of Rome. In the midst of these sufferings, a great internal change passed upon the empire. The corruption of death began to ferment into new forms of life. While the great body, as a whole, was torpid and passive, every separate member began to feel with a sense, and to move with an energy all its own. Just here, in the most barren and 30 dreary tract of European history, all feudal privileges, all modern nobility, take their source. It is to this point that we trace the power of those princes, who, nominally vassals, but really independent, long governed, with the titles of dukes, marquesses and counts, almost every part of the dominions which had obeyed Charlemagne.

Such or nearly such was the change which passed on the Mogul empire during the forty years which followed the death of Aurungzebe. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bang, fondling concubines, and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, to prey on the defenceless wealth of Hindostan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi, and bore away  
10 in triumph those treasures of which the magnificence had astounded Roe and Bernier, the Peacock Throne, on which the richest jewels of Golconda had been disposed by the most skilful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light, which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Runjeet Sing, and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The Afghan soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary  
20 soldiers occupied Rohilcund. The Seiks ruled on the Indus. The Jauts spread dismay along the Jumna. The highlands which border on the western sea-coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, a race which was long the terror of every native power, and which, after many desperate and doubtful struggles, yielded only to the fortune and genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that this wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains; and soon after his death, every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the  
30 Mahrattas. Many fertile vice-royalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poonah, at Gualior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which

was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyæna and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black-mail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi. 10 Another, at the head of his innumerable cavalry, descended year after year on the ricefields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines. Less than a hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horsemen of Berar; and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger.

Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane; as a 20 Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honour. In truth, however, they were no longer lieutenants removable at pleasure, but independent hereditary princes. In this way originated those great Mussulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still, though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Luck- 30 now and Hyderabad.

In what was this confusion to end? Was the strife to continue during centuries? Was it to terminate in the rise of another great monarchy? Was the Mussulman or the Mahratta to be the Lord of India? Was another Baber to descend from the mountains, and to lead the hardy tribes of

Cabul and Chorasán against a wealthier and less warlike race? None of these events seemed improbable. But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible that a trading company, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes of commerce, would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snow of the Himalayas; would compel Mahratta and Mahomedan to forget their mutual feuds  
10 in common subjection; would tame down even those wild races which had resisted the most powerful of the Moguls; and, having united under its laws a hundred millions of subjects, would carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Burrampooter, and far to the west of the Hydaspes, dictate terms of peace at the gates of Ava, and seat its vassal on the throne of Candahar. ✓

The man who first saw that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had  
20 formed this scheme, at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline, and guided by the tactics, of the West. He saw also that the natives of India might, under European commanders, be formed into armies, such as Saxe  
30 or Frederic would be proud to command. He was perfectly aware that the most easy and convenient way in which an European adventurer could exercise sovereignty in India, was to govern the motions, and to speak through the mouth of some glittering puppet dignified by the title of Nabob or Nizam. The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were employed with such signal success by the English,



were first understood and practised by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman.

The situation of India was such that scarcely any aggression could be without a pretext, either in old laws or in recent practice. All rights were in a state of utter uncertainty ; and the Europeans who took part in the disputes of the natives confounded the confusion, by applying to Asiatic politics the public law of the West and analogies drawn from the feudal system. If it was convenient to treat a Nabob as an independent prince, there was an excellent plea for doing so. He was independent in fact. If it was convenient to treat him as a mere deputy of the Court of Delhi, there was no difficulty ; for he was so in theory. If it was convenient to consider his office as an hereditary dignity, or as a dignity held during life only, or as a dignity held only during the good pleasure of the Mogul, arguments and precedents might be found for every one of those views. The party who had the heir of Baber in their hands represented him as the undoubted, the legitimate, the absolute sovereign, whom all subordinate authorities were bound to obey. The party against whom his name was used did not want plausible pretexts for maintaining that the empire was *de facto* dissolved, and that, though it might be decent to treat the Mogul with respect, as a venerable relic of an order of things which had passed away, it was absurd to regard him as the real master of Hindostan. 10 20

In the year 1748, died one of the most powerful of the new masters of India, the great Nizam al Mulk, Viceroy of the Deccan. His authority descended to his son, Nazir Jung. Of the provinces subject to this high functionary, the Carnatic was the wealthiest and the most extensive. It was governed by an ancient Nabob, whose name the English corrupted into Anaverdy Khan. 30

But there were pretenders to the government both of the viceroyalty and of the subordinate province. Mirzapha Jung, a grandson of Nizam al Mulk, appeared as the com-

petitor of Nazir Jung. Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic, disputed the title of Anaverdy Khan. In the unsettled state of Indian law, it was easy for both Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib to make out something like a claim of right. In a society altogether disorganised, they had no difficulty in finding greedy adventurers to follow their standards. They united their interests, invaded the Carnatic, and applied for assistance to the French, whose fame had been raised by their success  
10 against the English in the recent war on the coast of Coromandel.

Nothing could have happened more pleasing to the subtle and ambitious Dupleix. To make a Nabob of the Carnatic, to make a Viceroy of the Deccan, to rule under their names the whole of southern India ; this was indeed an attractive prospect. He allied himself with the pretenders, and sent four hundred French soldiers, and two thousand sepoy, disciplined after the European fashion, to the assistance of his confederates. A battle was fought. The French dis-  
20 tinguished themselves greatly. Anaverdy Khan was defeated and slain. His son Mahommed Ali, who was afterwards well known in England as the Nabob of Arcot, and who owes to the eloquence of Burke a most unenviable immortality, fled with a scanty remnant of his army to Trichinopoly ; and the conquerors became at once masters of almost every part of the Carnatic.

This was but the beginning of the greatness of Dupleix. After some months of fighting, negotiation, and intrigue, his ability and good fortune seemed to have prevailed every  
30 where. Nazir Jung perished by the hands of his own followers ; Mirzapha Jung was master of the Deccan ; and the triumph of French arms and French policy was complete. At Pondicherry all was exultation and festivity. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. The new Nizam came thither to visit his allies ; and the ceremony of his installation was performed there

with great pomp. Dupleix, dressed in the garb worn by Mahomedans of the highest rank, entered the town in the same palanquin with the Nizam, and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of all the court. He was declared Governor of India from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin, a country about as large as France, with authority superior even to that of Chunda Sahib. He was intrusted with the command of seven thousand cavalry. It was announced that no mint would be suffered to exist in the Carnatic except that at Pondicherry. A large portion of the treasures which 10 former Viceroy of the Deccan had accumulated found its way into the coffers of the French governor. It was rumoured that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, besides many valuable jewels. In fact, there could scarcely be any limit to his gains. He now ruled thirty millions of people with almost absolute power. No honour or emolument could be obtained from the government but by his intervention. No petition, unless signed by him, was perused by the Nizam.

Mirzapha Jung survived his elevation only a few months 20 But another prince of the same house was raised to the throne by French influence, and ratified all the promises of his predecessor. Dupleix was now the greatest potentate in India. His countrymen boasted that his name was mentioned with awe even in the chambers of the palace of Delhi. The native population looked with amazement on the progress which, in the short space of four years, an European adventurer had made towards dominion in Asia. Nor was the vain-glorious Frenchman content with the reality of power. He loved to display his greatness with arrogant 30 ostentation before the eyes of his subjects and of his rivals. Near the spot where his policy had obtained its chief triumph, by the fall of Nazir Jung and the elevation of Mirzapha, he determined to erect a column, on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions, in four languages, should proclaim his glory to all the nations of the East. Medals

stamped with emblems of his successes were buried beneath the foundations of this stately pillar, and round it arose a town bearing the haughty name of Dupleix Fatihabad, which is, being interpreted, the City of the Victory of Dupleix.

The English had made some feeble and irresolute attempts to stop the rapid and brilliant career of the rival Company, and continued to recognise Mahommed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the dominions of Mahommed Ali consisted of  
10 Trichinopoly alone ; and Trichinopoly was now invested by Chunda Sahib and his French auxiliaries. To raise the siege seemed impossible. The small force which was then at Madras had no commander. Major Lawrence had returned to England : and not a single officer of established character remained in the settlement. The natives had learned to look with contempt on the mighty nation which was soon to conquer and to rule them. They had seen the French colours flying on Fort St. George ; they had seen the chiefs of the English factory led in triumph through the streets of  
20 Pondicherry ; they had seen the arms and counsels of Dupleix every where successful, while the opposition which the authorities of Madras had made to his progress, had served only to expose their own weakness, and to heighten his glory. At this moment, the valour and genius of an obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune.

Clive was now twenty-five years old. After hesitating for some time between a military and a commercial life, he had at length been placed in a post which partook of both characters, that of commissary to the troops, with the rank of  
30 captain. The present emergency called forth all his powers. He represented to his superiors that, unless some vigorous efforts were made, Trichinopoly would fall, the House of Anaverdy Khan would perish, and the French would become the real masters of the whole peninsula of India. It was absolutely necessary to strike some daring blow. If an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and

the favourite residence of the Nabobs, it was not impossible that the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. The heads of the English settlement, now thoroughly alarmed by the success of Dupleix, and apprehensive that, in the event of a new war between France and Great Britain, Madras would be instantly taken and destroyed, approved of Clive's plan, and intrusted the execution of it to himself. The young captain was put at the head of two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Of the eight officers who commanded 10 this little force under him, only two had ever been in action, and four of the eight were factors of the company, whom Clive's example had induced to offer their services. The weather was stormy ; but Clive pushed on, through thunder, lightning, and rain, to the gates of Arcot. The garrison, in a panic, evacuated the fort, and the English entered it without a blow.

But Clive well knew that he should not be suffered to retain undisturbed possession of his conquest. He instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to 20 make preparations for sustaining a siege. The garrison, which had fled at his approach, had now recovered from its dismay, and, having been swollen by large reinforcements from the neighbourhood to a force of three thousand men, encamped close to the town. At dead of night, Clive marched out of the fort, attacked the camp by surprise, slew great numbers, dispersed the rest, and returned to his quarters without having lost a single man.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to Chunda Sahib, who, with his French allies, was besieging 30 Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellore, and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French

soldiers whom Dupleix despatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.

Rajah Sahib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly  
10 reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoys. Only four officers were left; the stock of provisions was scanty; and the commander, who had to conduct the defence under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five and twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance, and ability, which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, in-  
20 creased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed any thing that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of  
30 their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the Government of Madras to relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Mahrattas, half soldiers, half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morari Row, had been hired to assist Mahommed Ali; but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph of Chunda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defence of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morari Row declared that he had never before 10 believed that Englishmen could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he saw that they had spirit to help themselves. Rajah Sahib learned that the Mahrattas were in motion. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that, if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him in reply, with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was an usurper, that his army was a 20 rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rajah Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mahommedan festival which is sacred to the memory of Hosein the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than the event which gave rise to that solemnity. The mournful legend relates how the chief of the Fatimites, when all his brave followers had 30 perished round him, drank his latest draught of water, and uttered his latest prayer, how the assassins carried his head in triumph, how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff, and how a few old men recollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After the lapse of near twelve

centuries, the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslem of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation that some, it is said, have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris. It was at this time that Rajah  
10 Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would  
20 yield to the shock of these living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls than they turned round, and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry, the assailants mounted with great boldness ; but they were received  
30 with a fire so heavy and so well-directed, that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.



The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

The news was received at Fort St. George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal to any command. Two hundred English soldiers, and seven hundred sepoys were sent to him, and with this force he 10 instantly commenced offensive operations. He took the fort of Timery, effected a junction with a division of Morari Row's army, and hastened, by forced marches, to attack Rajah Sahib, who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp, but Clive gained a complete victory. The military chest of Rajah Sahib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoys, who had served in the enemy's army, came over to Clive's quarters, and were taken into the British service. Conjeveram surrendered without a blow. 20 The governor of Arnee deserted Chunda Sahib, and recognised the title of Mahommed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been intrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incapacity which appeared in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally present, protracted the struggle. The Mahrattas muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this languor was, that in no long time Rajah Sahib, at the head 30 of a considerable army, in which were four hundred French troops, appeared almost under the guns of Fort St. George and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken, a loss more serious than that of thousands of

natives. The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St. David. On the road lay the City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East. Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be raised to the ground. He was induced, we believe, to take this step, not by personal or national malevolence, but by a just and profound policy. The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions, were among the  
10 devices by which Dupleix had laid the public mind of India under a spell. This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy. No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trophies.

The government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment, under Clive, to reinforce the garrison of Trichinopoly. But just at this  
20 conjuncture, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and assumed the chief command. From the waywardness and impatience of control which had characterised Clive, both at school and in the counting-house, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humour in a subordinate capacity. But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness; and it is bare justice to Clive to say that, proud and overbearing as he was, kindness was never thrown away upon him. He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend, and exerted him-  
30 self as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant coadjutor. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on inter-

lopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules. "Some people," he wrote, "are pleased to term Captain Clive fortunate and lucky ; but, in my opinion, from the knowledge I have of the gentleman, he deserved and might expect from his conduct every thing as it fell out ;—a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger—born a soldier ; for, without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good 10 sense, he led on an army like an experienced officer and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success."

The French had no commander to oppose to the two friends. Dupleix, not inferior in talents for negotiation and intrigue to any European who has borne a part in the revolutions of India, was not qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier, and had no inclination to become one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice ; and he defended himself in a strain 20 worthy of Captain Bobadil. He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of fire-arms. He was thus under the necessity of intrusting to others the execution of his great warlike designs ; and he bitterly complained that he was ill served. He had indeed been assisted by one officer of eminent merit, the celebrated Bussy. But Bussy had marched northward with the Nizam, and was fully employed in looking after his own interests, and those of France, at the court of that 30 prince. Among the officers who remained with Dupleix, there was not a single man of capacity ; and many of them were boys, at whose ignorance and folly the common soldiers laughed.

The English triumphed every where. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to

capitulate. Chunda Sahib fell into the hands of the Mah-rattas, and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mahommed Ali. The spirit of Dupleix, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible. From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance. They condemned his policy. They gave him no pecuniary assistance. They sent him for troops only the sweepings of the galleys. Yet still he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised, lavished his private fortune, 10 strained his credit, procured new diplomas from Delhi, raised up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side, and found tools even among the allies of the English Company. But all was in vain. Slowly, but steadily, the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline. ✓

The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India ; and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England. Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable diffi- 20 culty, and performed it with his usual vigour and dexterity. The forts of Covelong and Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons. It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available for this purpose was of such a description that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. It consisted of five hundred newly-levied sepoys, and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the flash-houses of London. Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, 30 undertook to make an army of this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong. A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary soldiers ; on which all the rest faced about and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them. On another occasion, the noise of a gun terrified the sentinels so much that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well.

Clive gradually accustomed them to danger, and, by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Covelong fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ambuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly 10 to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French commandant capitulated and retired with his men.

Clive returned to Madras victorious, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Maskelyne, sister of the eminent mathematician, who long held the post of Astronomer Royal. She is described as handsome and accomplished; and her husband's letters, it is said, contain proofs that he was devotedly attached to her. 20

Almost immediately after the marriage, Clive embarked with his bride for England. He returned a very different person from the poor slighted boy who had been sent out ten years before to seek his fortune. He was only twenty-seven; yet his country already respected him as one of her first soldiers. There was then general peace in Europe. The Carnatic was the only part of the world where the English and French were in arms against each other. The vast schemes of Dupleix had excited no small uneasiness in the city of London; and the rapid turn of fortune, which was 30 chiefly owing to the courage and talents of Clive, had been hailed with great delight. The young captain was known at the India House by the honourable nickname of General Clive, and was toasted by that appellation at the feasts of the Directors. On his arrival in England, he found himself an object of general interest and admiration. The East India

Company thanked him for his services in the warmest terms, and bestowed on him a sword set with diamonds. With rare delicacy, he refused to receive this token of gratitude unless a similar compliment were paid to his friend and commander, Lawrence.

It may easily be supposed that Clive was most cordially welcomed home by his family, who were delighted by his success, though they seem to have been hardly able to comprehend how their naughty idle Bobby had become so great  
10 a man. His father had been singularly hard of belief. Not until the news of the defence of Arcot arrived in England was the old gentleman heard to growl out that, after all, the booby had something in him. His expressions of approbation became stronger and stronger as news arrived of one brilliant exploit after another; and he was at length immoderately fond and proud of his son.

Clive's relations had very substantial reasons for rejoicing at his return. Considerable sums of prize-money had fallen to his share; and he had brought home a moderate fortune,  
20 part of which he expended in extricating his father from pecuniary difficulties, and in redeeming the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition.

At the time of the general election of 1754, the government was in a very singular state. There was scarcely any formal  
30 opposition. The Jacobites had been cowed by the issue of the last rebellion. The Tory party had fallen into utter contempt. It had been deserted by all the men of talents who had belonged to it, and had scarcely given a symptom of life during some years. The small faction which had been held together by the influence and promises of Prince Frederic, had been dispersed by his death. Almost every

public man of distinguished talents in the kingdom, whatever his early connections might have been, was in office, and called himself a Whig. But this extraordinary appearance of concord was quite delusive. The administration itself was distracted by bitter enmities and conflicting pretensions. The chief object of its members was to depress and supplant each other. The prime minister, Newcastle, weak, timid, jealous, and perfidious, was at once detested and despised by some of the most important members of his government, and by none more than by Henry Fox, the Secretary at War. 10 This able, daring, and ambitious man seized every opportunity of crossing the First Lord of the Treasury, from whom he well knew that he had little to dread and little to hope; for Newcastle was through life equally afraid of breaking with men of parts and of promoting them.

Newcastle had set his heart on returning two members for St. Michael, one of those wretched Cornish boroughs which were swept away by the Reform Act in 1832. He was opposed by Lord Sandwich, whose influence had long been paramount there: and Fox exerted himself strenuously in 20 Sandwich's behalf. Clive, who had been introduced to Fox, and very kindly received by him, was brought forward on the Sandwich interest, and was returned. But a petition was presented against the return, and was backed by the whole influence of the Duke of Newcastle.

The case was heard, according to the usage of that time, before a committee of the whole House. Questions respecting elections were then considered merely as party questions. Judicial impartiality was not even affected. Sir Robert Walpole was in the habit of saying openly that, in election 30 battles, there ought to be no quarter. On the present occasion the excitement was great. The matter really at issue was, not whether Clive had been properly or improperly returned, but whether Newcastle or Fox was to be master of the new House of Commons, and consequently first minister. The contest was long and obstinate, and success seemed to

lean sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Fox put forth all his rare powers of debate, beat half the lawyers in the House at their own weapons, and carried division after division against the whole influence of the Treasury. The committee decided in Clive's favour. But when the resolution was reported to the House, things took a different course. The remnant of the Tory Opposition, contemptible as it was, had yet sufficient weight to turn the scale between the nicely-balanced parties of Newcastle and Fox. Newcastle  
10 the Tories could only despise. Fox they hated, as the boldest and most subtle politician and the ablest debater among the Whigs, as the steady friend of Walpole, as the devoted adherent of the Duke of Cumberland. After wavering till the last moment, they determined to vote in a body with the Prime Minister's friends. The consequence was that the House, by a small majority, rescinded the decision of the committee, and Clive was unseated.

Ejected from Parliament and straitened in his means, he naturally began to look again towards India. The Company  
20 and the Government were eager to avail themselves of his services. A treaty favourable to England had indeed been concluded in the Carnatic. Dupleix had been superseded, and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave. But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great Britain was at hand ; and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India. The Directors appointed Clive governor of Fort St. David. The King gave him the com-  
30 mission of a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

The first service on which he was employed after his return to the East was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheriah. This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a pirate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of



the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson, who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.

After this exploit, Clive proceeded to his government of Fort St. David. Before he had been there two months, he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

Of the provinces which had been subject to the House 10 of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India possessed such natural advantages, both for agriculture and for commerce. The Ganges, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plain of rich mould which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with marvellous exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish. The desolate islands along the sea-coast, overgrown by noxious vegeta- 20 tion, and swarming with deer and tigers, supply the cultivated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilises the soil is, at the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters, are the wealthiest marts, the most splendid capitals, and the most sacred shrines of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of 30 Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms. The race by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervated by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful

avocations, bore the same relation to other Asiatics which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb that in Valencia the earth is water and the men women; and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the Lower Ganges. Whatever the Bengalee does he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion; and, though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane, 10 he seldom engages in a personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalees in the whole army of the East India Company. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke. \

The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are, at Chandernagore on the Hoogley. Higher up the stream the Dutch traders held Chinsurah. 20 Nearer to the sea, the English had built Fort William. A church and ample warehouses rose in the vicinity. A row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company, lined the banks of the river; and in the neighbourhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindoo merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw. A jungle, abandoned to waterfowl and alligators, covered the site of the 30 present Citadel, and the Course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta. For the ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landholders, paid rent to the government; and they were, like other great landholders, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Orissa and Bahar, had long been governed by a viceroy, whom the English called Aliverdy Khan, and who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, had become virtually independent. He died in 1756, and the sovereignty descended to his grandson, a youth under twenty years of age, who bore the name of Surajah Dowlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings ; and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble, and his temper naturally 10 unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him, and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on the goodwill of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by 20 nothing but buffoonery and servility. It is said that he had arrived at that last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake, when the sight of pain, as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offence punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds ; and, when he grew up, he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow-creatures.

From a child Surajah Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so ; and his whims were never 30 opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them ; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they been even greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which

Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without special permission from the Nabob. A rich native, whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

- 10 The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Dupleix to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits, jumped into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance; and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The
- 20 Nabob seated himself with regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. His Highness abused the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found; but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

- Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards, and the guards
- 30 determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can

scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking ; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated ; they entreated ; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives 10 were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell who, even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes 20 to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the mean time held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings 30 and moanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made,

twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.

But these things which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart; but those from whom it was thought that any thing could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabob procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the haram of the Prince at Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah, in the mean time, sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison in Fort William, forbade any Englishman to dwell in the neighbourhood, and directed that, in memory of his great actions, Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagore, that is to say, the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the

Hoogley, and that Clive should be at the head of the land forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry, five troops and full of spirit, and fifteen hundred sepoys, composed the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects than Louis the Fifteenth or the Empress Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed; but it had to make its way against adverse winds, and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nabob was revelling in fancied security at Moorshedabad. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of foreign countries that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe; and it had never occurred to him as possible, that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But, though undisturbed by any fear of their military power, he began to miss them greatly. His revenues fell off; and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains than to put them to the torture for the purpose of 20 discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country, when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hoogley. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorshedabad, and marched towards Calcutta.

Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigour. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogley. The Nabob, already disposed to make some concessions to the 30 English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war; and he felt that there was

something discreditable in an accommodation with Surajah Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs; and these persons were eager to be restored to their posts and compensated for their losses. The government of Madras, apprised that war had commenced in Europe, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the  
 10 Nabob were large, the chances of a contest doubtful; and Clive consented to treat, though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier, carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valour, the plans of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman; and his military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new  
 20 capacity he displayed great talents, and obtained great success, is unquestionable. But it is also unquestionable, that the transactions in which he now began to take a part have left a stain on his moral character.

We can by no means agree with Sir John Malcolm, who is obstinately resolved to see nothing but honour and integrity in the conduct of his hero. But we can as little agree with Mr. Mill, who has gone so far as to say that Clive was a man "to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang." Clive seems to us to have been constitution-  
 30 ally the very opposite of a knave, bold even to temerity, sincere even to indiscretion, hearty in friendship, open in enmity. Neither in his private life, nor in those parts of his public life in which he had to do with his countrymen, do we find any signs of a propensity to cunning. On the contrary, in all the disputes in which he was engaged as an Englishman against Englishmen, from his boxing-matches



at school to those stormy altercations at the India House and in Parliament amidst which his later years were passed, his very faults were those of a high and magnanimous spirit. The truth seems to have been that he considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair. He knew that the standard of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour, with men who would give any promise without hesitation, and break any promise without shame, with 10 men who would unscrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to compass their ends. His letters show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined, most erroneously in our opinion, that he could effect nothing against such adversaries, if he was content to be bound by ties from which they were free, if he went on telling truth, and hearing none, if he fulfilled, to his own hurt, all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly this 20 man, in the other parts of his life an honourable English gentleman and a soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer, than he became himself an Indian intriguer, and descended, without scruple, to falsehood, to hypocritical caresses, to the substitution of documents, and to the counterfeiting of hands.

The negotiations between the English and the Nabob were carried on chiefly by two agents, Mr. Watts, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichund. This Omichund had been one of the wealthiest native mer- 30 chants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabob's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions, he had seen much of the English, and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and

had in large measure the Hindoo talents, quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance, and the Hindoo vices, servility, greediness, and treachery.

The Nabob behaved with all the faithlessness of an Indian statesman, and with all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta; but when he saw the resolute front which the  
10 English presented, he fell back in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities at Chandernagore. He invited Bussy to march from the Deccan to the Hoogley, and to drive the English out of Bengal. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow, and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India or from  
20 Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Near five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

The Nabob had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear and still greater hatred. His weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility  
30 and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had committed. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to hasten to protect Bengal "against Clive, the daring in war, on whom," says his Highness, "may all bad fortune attend." He ordered his army to march against the English. He coun-

termanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to impale him. He again sent for Watts, and begged pardon for the insult. In the mean time, his wretched maladministration, his folly, his dissolute manners, and his love of the lowest company, had disgusted all classes of his subjects, soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious Mahommedans, the timid, supple, and parsimonious Hindoos. A formidable confederacy was formed against 10 him, in which were included Roydullub, the minister of finance, Meer Jaffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the malcontents at Moorshedabad and the committee at Calcutta.

In the committee there was much hesitation ; but Clive's voice was given in favour of the conspirators, and his vigour and firmness bore down all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to 20 depose Surajah Dowlah, and to place Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal. In return, Meer Jaffier promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donative to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Surajah Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at his hands, the dangers to which our trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear to us fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. But nothing can justify the dissimulation which Clive stooped to practise. He wrote to Surajah Dowlah in terms 30 so affectionate that they for a time lulled that weak prince into perfect security. The same courtier who carried this "soothing letter," as Clive calls it, to the Nabob, carried to Mr. Watts a letter in the following terms : "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will

march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left."

It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed. Enough reached the ears of the Nabob to arouse his suspicions. But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with miraculous readiness. All was going well; the plot was nearly ripe; when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false.

10 The artful Bengalee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta. But this would not satisfy him. His services had been great. He held the thread of the whole intrigue. By one word breathed in the ear of Surajah Dowlah, he could undo all that he had done. The lives of Watts, of Meer Jaffier, of all the conspirators, were at his mercy; and he determined to take advantage of his situation and to make his own terms. He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling as the price of his secrecy and of his assistance. The committee, incensed by  
20 the treachery and appalled by the danger, knew not what course to take. But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omichund's own arts. The man, he said, was a villain. Any artifice which would defeat such knavery was justifiable. The best course would be to promise what was asked. Omichund would soon be at their mercy; and then they might punish him by withholding from him, not only the bribe which he now demanded, but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive.

30 His advice was taken. But how was the wary and sagacious Hindoo to be deceived? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English, and he would not be satisfied unless he saw it with his own eyes. Clive had an expedient ready. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red, the former real, the latter fictitious,

In the former Omichund's name was not mentioned ; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favour.

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance and acuteness were such that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions. But Clive was not a man to do any thing by halves. We almost blush to write it. He forged Admiral Watson's name.

All was now ready for action. Mr. Watts fled secretly 10 from Moorshedabad. Clive put his troops in motion, and wrote to the Nabob in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, and concluded by announcing that, as the rains were about to set in, he and his men would do themselves the honour of waiting on his Highness for an answer.

Surajah Dowlah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that 20 Meer Jaffier should separate himself from the Nabob, and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached, the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cossimbuzar ; the Nabob lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey ; and still Meer Jaffier delayed to fulfil his engagements, and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his 30 confederate : and, whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents, and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this oc-

casion, for the first and for the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting; and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war, and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone  
10 under the shade of some trees, and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put every thing to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.

The river was passed; and at the close of a toilsome day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango-trees near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep; he heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabob. It is not strange that even his stout  
20 heart should now and then have sunk, when he reflected against what odds, and for what a prize, he was in a few hours to contend.

Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowlah more peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captains, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sat gloomily in his tent, haunted, a Greek poet would have said, by the furies of those who had cursed him with their  
30 last breath in the Black Hole.

The day broke, the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nabob, pouring through many openings from the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance

of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces; and the practised eye of Clive could perceive that both the men and the horses were more powerful than those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But 10 of these nearly a thousand were English; and all were led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours, amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several 20 of the most distinguished officers in Surajah Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more com- 30 pletely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained

in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of nearly sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain

Meer Jaffier had given no assistance to the English during the action. But as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided, he drew off his division of the army, and, when the battle was over, sent his congratulations to his ally. The next morning he repaired to the English quarters, not a little  
10 uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honours due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabob of the three great provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies, and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and  
20 arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his counsellors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English, from whom he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice, and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffier had arrived, and his terrors became insupportable. Dis-  
30 guised in a mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let himself down at night from a window of his palace, and, accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river for Patna.

In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabad, escorted by two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoy. For his residence had been assigned a palace, which was



surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Meer Jaffier was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabob to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold, and then, turning to the natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter; for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, 10 intimately acquainted as he was with Indian politics and with the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language. He is said indeed to have been sometimes under the necessity of employing, in his intercourse with natives of India, the smattering of Portuguese which he had acquired, when a lad in Brazil.

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Seit, the great 20 banker, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had up to that day treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr. Sraffton, one of the servants of the Company, and said in English, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." "Omichund," said Mr. Sraffton in Hindostanee, "the red treaty is a trick. You are to have nothing." Omichund fell back 30 insensible into the arms of his attendants. He revived; but his mind was irreparably ruined. Clive, who, though little troubled by scruples of conscience in his dealings with Indian politicians, was not inhuman, seems to have been touched. He saw Omichund a few days later, spoke to him kindly, advised him to make a pilgrimage to one of the great temples

of India, in the hope that change of scene might restore his health, and was even disposed, notwithstanding all that had passed, again to employ his talents in the public service. But, from the moment of that sudden shock, the unhappy man sank gradually into idiocy. He, who had formerly been distinguished by the strength of his understanding and the simplicity of his habits, now squandered the remains of his fortune on childish trinkets, and loved to exhibit himself dressed in rich garments, and hung with precious stones.

10 In this abject state he languished a few months, and then died.

We should not think it necessary to offer any remarks for the purpose of directing the judgment of our readers with respect to this transaction, had not Sir John Malcolm undertaken to defend it in all its parts. He regrets, indeed, that it was necessary to employ means so liable to abuse as forgery; but he will not admit that any blame attaches to those who deceived the deceiver. He thinks that the English were not bound to keep faith with one who kept no

20 faith with them, and that, if they had fulfilled their engagements with the wily Bengalee, so signal an example of successful treason would have produced a crowd of imitators. Now, we will not discuss this point on any rigid principles of morality. Indeed, it is quite unnecessary to do so: for, looking at the question as a question of expediency in the lowest sense of the word, and using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia, we are convinced that Clive was altogether in the wrong, and that he committed, not merely a crime, but a

30 blunder. That honesty is the best policy is a maxim which we firmly believe to be generally correct, even with respect to the temporal interests of individuals; but, with respect to societies, the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions, and that, for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private

faith. But we doubt whether it be possible to mention a state which has on the whole been a gainer by a breach of public faith. The entire history of British India is an illustration of the great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy, and that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth. During a long course of years, the English rulers of India, surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English 10  
valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing, when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed. No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the "yea, yea," and "nay, nay," of a British envoy. No fastness, however 20  
strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a security like that enjoyed by the chief who, passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with the British guarantee. The mightiest princes of the East can scarcely, by the offer of enormous usury, draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. The British Government offers little more than four per cent.; and avarice hastens to bring forth tens of millions of rupees from its most secret repositories. A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to our 30  
sepoys, on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company. The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service. But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept: he knows that if he lives a hundred years his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor-General: and he knows that

there is not another state in India which would not, in spite of the most solemn vows, leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage we enjoy in Asia. Had we acted during the last two generations on the principles which Sir John Malcolm appears to have considered as sound, had we, as often as we had to deal with people like Omichund, retaliated by lying, and forging, and breaking faith, after their fashion, it is our firm belief that no courage or capacity could have upheld our empire.

Sir John Malcolm admits that Clive's breach of faith could be justified only by the strongest necessity. As we think that breach of faith not only unnecessary, but most inexpedient, we need hardly say that we altogether condemn it.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution. Surajah Dowlah was taken a few days after his flight, and was brought before Meer Jaffier. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Meer Jaffier hesitated; but his son Meeran, a youth of seventeen, who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled the wretched captive, was implacable. Surajah Dowlah was led into a secret chamber, to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part; and Meer Jaffier understood so much of their feelings, that he thought it necessary to apologise to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy

The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moorshedabad to Fort William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred

boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which a few months before had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived ; and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned 10 the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The pecuniary transactions between Meer Jaffier and Clive were sixteen years later condemned by the public voice, and severely criticised in Parliament. They are vehemently defended by Sir John Malcolm. The accusers of the victorious general represented his gains as the 20 wages of corruption, or as plunder extorted at the point of the sword from a helpless ally. The biographer, on the other hand, considers these great acquisitions as free gifts, honourable alike to the donor and to the receiver, and compares them to the rewards bestowed by foreign powers on Marlborough, on Nelson, and on Wellington. It had always, he says, been customary in the East to give and receive presents ; and there was, as yet, no Act of Parliament positively prohibiting English functionaries in India from profiting by this Asiatic usage. This 30 reasoning, we own, does not quite satisfy us. We do not suspect Clive of selling the interests of his employers or his country ; but we cannot acquit him of having done what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example. Nothing is more clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government, and of no other. It

follows that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government, or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest bauble, with respect to a cross, a medal, or a yard of coloured riband. But how can any government be well served, if those who command its forces are at liberty, without its permission, without its privity, to accept princely fortunes from its allies? It is  
10 idle to say that there was then no Act of Parliament prohibiting the practice of taking presents from Asiatic sovereigns. It is not on the Act which was passed at a later period for the purpose of preventing any such taking of presents, but on grounds which were valid before that Act was passed, on grounds of common law and common sense, that we arraign the conduct of Clive. There is no Act that we know of, prohibiting the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from being in the pay  
20 of continental powers. But it is not the less true that a Secretary who should receive a secret pension from France would grossly violate his duty, and would deserve severe punishment. Sir John Malcolm compares the conduct of Clive with that of the Duke of Wellington. Suppose—and we beg pardon for putting such a supposition even for the sake of argument—that the Duke of Wellington had, after the campaign of 1815, and while he commanded the army of occupation in France, privately accepted two hundred thousand pounds from Louis the Eighteenth, as a mark of gratitude for the great services which his Grace  
30 had rendered to the House of Bourbon; what would be thought of such a transaction? Yet the statute-book no more forbids the taking of presents in Europe now than it forbade the taking of presents in Asia then.

At the same time, it must be admitted that, in Clive's case, there were many extenuating circumstances. He considered himself as the general, not of the Crown, but

of the Company. The Company had, by implication at least, authorised its agents to enrich themselves by means of the liberality of the native princes, and by other means still more objectionable. It was hardly to be expected that the servant should entertain stricter notions of his duty than were entertained by his masters. Though Clive did not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place, and request their sanction, he did not, on the other hand, by studied concealment, show that he was conscious of having done wrong. On the contrary, 10 he avowed with the greatest openness that the Nabob's bounty had raised him to affluence. Lastly, though we think that he ought not in such a way to have taken any thing, we must admit that he deserves praise for having taken so little. He accepted twenty lacs of rupees. It would have cost him only a word to make the twenty forty. It was a very easy exercise of virtue to declaim in England against Clive's rapacity; but not one in a hundred of his accusers would have shown so much self-command in the treasury of Moorshedabad. 20

Meer Jaffier could be upheld on the throne only by the hand which had placed him on it. He was not, indeed, a mere boy; nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple. He was not therefore quite so imbecile or quite so depraved as his predecessor had been. But he had none of the talents or virtues which his post required; and his son and heir, Meeran, was another Surajah Dowlah. The recent revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many chiefs were in open insurrection against the new Nabob. The viceroy of the rich and 30 powerful province of Oude, who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, was now in truth an independent sovereign, menaced Bengal with invasion. Nothing but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government. While things were in this state a ship arrived with despatches which had been written at the India

House before the news of the battle of Plassey had reached London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government constituted in the most cumbrous and absurd manner; and, to make the matter worse, no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form this new government, greatly to their honour, took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous orders, and invited Clive to exercise  
10 the supreme authority. He consented; and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of their employers. The Directors, on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success, instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless, and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. Meer Jaffier regarded him with slavish awe. On one occasion, the Nabob spoke with severity to a native chief of high  
20 rank, whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company's sepoys. "Are you yet to learn," he said, "who that Colonel Clive is, and in what station God has placed him?" The chief, who, as a famous jester and an old friend of Meer Jaffier, could venture to take liberties, answered, "I affront the Colonel! I, who never get up in the morning without making three low bows to his jackass!" This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive's feet. The English regarded him as the only man who could force  
30 Meer Jaffier to keep his engagements with them. Meer Jaffier regarded him as the only man who could protect the new dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbours.

It is but justice to say that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He sent forth an expedition against the tract lying to the



north of the Carnatic. In this tract the French still had the ascendancy ; and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to an officer of the name of Forde, who was then little known, but in whom the keen eye of the Governor had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid and splendid.

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance, a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at 10 Delhi in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, named Shah Alum, destined to be, during many years, the sport of adverse fortune, and to be a tool in the hands, first of the Mahrattas, and then of the English, had fled from the palace of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes, the Nabob of Oude in particular, were inclined to favour him. Shah Alum found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of 20 forty thousand men, of various races and religions, Mahrattas, Rohillas, Jauts, and Afghans, was speedily assembled round him ; and he formed the design of overthrowing the upstart whom the English had elevated to a throne, and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

Meer Jaffier's terror was extreme ; and the only expedient which occurred to him was to purchase, by the payment of a large sum of money, an accommodation with Shah Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who, before him, had ruled the rich and unwarlike provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Clive treated the suggestion 30 with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage. "If you do this," he wrote, "you will have the Nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and many more, come from all parts of the confines of your country who will be out of money till you have not a farthing left. Your excellency will rely on the

of those troops which are attached to you." He wrote in a similar strain to the governor of Patna, a brave native soldier whom he highly esteemed. "Come to no terms; defend your city to the last. Rest assured that the English are stanch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part."

He kept his word. Shah Alum had invested Patna, and was on the point of proceeding to storm, when he learned that the Colonel was advancing by forced marches. The  
10 whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty Europeans, and two thousand five hundred sepoys. But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East. As soon as his advanced guard appeared, the besiegers fled before him. A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince advised him to try the chance of battle; but in vain. In a few days this great army, which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the Court of Moorshedabad, melted away before the mere terror of the British name.

20 The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort William. The joy of Meer Jaffier was as unbounded as his fears had been, and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely token of gratitude. The quit-rent which the East India company were bound to pay to the Nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta amounted to near thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate, sufficient to support with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage, was now conferred on Clive for life.

This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was  
30 a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the Company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant.

But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up might pull him down, and had been looking round for support against the formidable strength by which he had

himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be impossible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had anciently been great in the Eastern seas ; and it was not yet distinctly known in Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Moorshedabad and the Dutch factory at Chinsurah ; and urgent letters were sent from Chinsurah, exhorting the government of Batavia to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal. The authorities of Batavia, eager to extend the influence of their country, and still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence, equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Java arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogley. The military force on board amounted to fifteen hundred men, of whom about one half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He knew that Meer Jaffier secretly favoured the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility if he attacked the forces of a friendly power ; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France ; that they might disavow his acts ; that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company ; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied, that if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river and to join the garrison of Chinsurah, Meer Jaffier would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to most serious danger. He took his resolution with characteristic boldness,

and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Forde, to whom the most important part of the operations was intrusted. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships were taken. Their troops were put to a total rout. Almost all the European soldiers, who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors  
10 sat down before Chinsurah ; and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police of their factories ; and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal.

Three months after this great victory, Clive sailed for England. At home, honours and rewards awaited him, not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition, but still such  
20 as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pronounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage, and encouraged to expect an English title. George the Third, who had just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid him marked attention ; and Pitt, whose influence in the House of Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the lustre of that memorable period. The great orator had already in Parliament  
30 described Clive as a heaven-born general, as a man who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. There were then no reporters in the gallery ; but these words, emphatically spoken by the first statesman of the age, had passed from mouth to mouth, had been transmitted to Clive in Bengal, and had greatly delighted and flattered

him. Indeed, since the death of Wolfe, Clive was the only English general of whom his countrymen had much reason to be proud. The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate; and his single victory, having been gained over his countrymen, and used with merciless severity, had been more fatal to his popularity than his many defeats. Conway, versed in the learning of his profession, and personally courageous, wanted vigour and capacity. Granby, honest, generous, and as brave as a lion, had neither science nor genius. Sackville, inferior in knowledge and abilities to 10 none of his contemporaries, had incurred, unjustly as we believe, the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier. It was under the command of a foreign general that the British had triumphed at Minden and Warburg. The people therefore, as was natural, greeted with pride and delight a captain of their own, whose native courage and self-taught skill had placed him on a level with the great tacticians of Germany.

The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England. There remains proof that he 20 had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company. The amount which he had sent home through private houses was also considerable. He had invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India. His purchases of diamonds, at Madras alone, amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds. Besides a great mass of ready money, he had his Indian estate, valued by himself at twenty-seven thousand a year. His whole annual income, in the 30 opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded forty thousand pounds; and incomes of forty thousand pounds at the time of the accession of George the Third were at least as rare as incomes of a hundred thousand pounds now. We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing has ever, in any

line of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty-four.

It would be unjust not to add that Clive made a creditable use of his riches. As soon as the battle of Plassey had laid the foundation of his fortune, he sent ten thousand pounds to his sisters, bestowed as much more on other poor friends and relations, ordered his agent to pay eight hundred a year to his parents, and to insist that they should keep a carriage, and settled five hundred a year on his old commander  
10 Lawrence, whose means were very slender. The whole sum which Clive expended in this manner may be calculated at fifty thousand pounds.

He now set himself to cultivate parliamentary interest. His purchases of land seem to have been made in a great measure with that view, and, after the general election of 1761, he found himself in the House of Commons, at the head of a body of dependents whose support must have been important to any administration. In English politics, however, he did not take a prominent part. His first attach-  
20 ments, as we have seen, were to Mr. Fox ; at a later period he was attracted by the genius and success of Mr. Pitt ; but finally he connected himself in the closest manner with George Grenville. Early in the session of 1764, when the illegal and impolitic persecution of that worthless demagogue Wilkes had strongly excited the public mind, the town was amused by an anecdote, which we have seen in some unpublished memoirs of Horace Walpole. Old Mr. Richard Clive, who, since his son's elevation, had been introduced into society for which his former habits had not well fitted  
30 him, presented himself at the levee. The King asked him where Lord Clive was. "He will be in town very soon," said the old gentleman, loud enough to be heard by the whole circle, "and then your Majesty will have another vote."

But in truth all Clive's views were directed towards the country in which he had so eminently distinguished himself

as a soldier and a statesman ; and it was by considerations relating to India that his conduct as a public man in England was regulated. The power of the Company, though an anomaly, is in our time, we are firmly persuaded, a beneficial anomaly. In the time of Clive, it was not merely an anomaly, but a nuisance. There was no Board of Control. The Directors were for the most part mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them. The Court of Proprietors, wherever it chose to interfere, was able to have 10 its way. That court was more numerous, as well as more powerful than at present ; for then every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote. The meetings were large, stormy, even riotous, the debates indecently virulent. All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale. Clive himself laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of stock, which he then divided among nominal 20 proprietors on whom he could depend, and whom he brought down in his train, to every discussion and every ballot. Others did the same, though not to quite so enormous an extent.

The interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was then far greater than at present, and the reason is obvious. At present a writer enters the service young ; he climbs slowly, he is fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a year, and with savings amounting to thirty thousand 30 pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India, but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretaryships, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the

Sudder courts, are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company ; nor can any talents however splendid or any connections however powerful obtain these lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door, and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago, less money was brought home from the East than in our time. But it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any English-  
10 man, whatever his age might be, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants. If he made a good speech in Leadenhall Street, or published a clever pamphlet in defence of the chairman, he might be sent out in the Company's service, and might return in three or four years as rich as Pigot or as Clive. Thus the India House was a lottery office, which invited every body to take a chance, and held out ducal fortunes as the prizes destined for the lucky few. As soon as it was known that there was a part of the world where a lieutenant-colonel had one morning received as a present an  
20 estate as large as that of the Earl of Bath or the Marquis of Rockingham, and where it seemed that such a trifle as ten or twenty thousand pounds was to be had by any British functionary for the asking, society began to exhibit all the symptoms of the South Sea year, a feverish excitement, an ungovernable impatience to be rich, a contempt for slow, sure, and moderate gains.

At the head of the preponderating party in the India House, had long stood a powerful, able, and ambitious director of the name of Sullivan. He had conceived a  
30 strong jealousy of Clive, and remembered with bitterness the audacity with which the late governor of Bengal had repeatedly set at nought the authority of the distant Directors of the Company. An apparent reconciliation took place after Clive's arrival ; but enmity remained deeply rooted in the hearts of both. The whole body of Directors was then chosen annually. At the election of 1763, Clive attempted



to break down the power of the dominant faction. The contest was carried on with a violence which he describes as tremendous. Sullivan was victorious, and hastened to take his revenge. The grant of rent which Clive had received from Meer Jaffier was, in the opinion of the best English lawyers, valid. It had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal, and the Company had long acquiesced in it. The Directors, however, most unjustly determined to confiscate it, and Clive was forced to file a bill in Chancery 10 against them.

But a great and sudden turn in affairs was at hand. Every ship from Bengal had for some time brought alarming tidings. The internal misgovernment of the province had reached such a point that it could go no further. What, indeed, was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it, armed with irresistible power, and responsible only to the corrupt, turbulent, distracted, ill-informed Company, situated at such a distance that the average interval between 20 the sending of a despatch and the receipt of an answer was above a year and a half? Accordingly, during the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman proconsul, who, in a year or two, squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campania, of drinking from amber, of feasting on singing birds, of exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of camelopards, the Spanish viceroy, who, leaving 30 behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima, entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches, and of sumpter-horses trapped and shod with silver, were now outdone. Cruelty, indeed, properly so called, was not among the vices of the servants of the Company. But cruelty itself could hardly have produced greater evils than sprang from their unprin-

cipled eagerness to be rich. They pulled down their creature, Meer Jaffier. They set up in his place another Nabob, named Meer Cossim. . But Meer Cossim had talents and a will ; and, though sufficiently inclined to oppress his subjects himself, he could not bear to see them ground to the dust by oppressions which yielded him no profit, nay, which destroyed his revenue in its very source. The English accordingly pulled down Meer Cossim, and set up Meer Jaffier again ; and Meer Cossim, after revenging himself by a massacre  
10 surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole, fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. At every one of these revolutions, the new prince divided among his foreign masters whatever could be scraped together from the treasury of his fallen predecessor. The immense population of his dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him. The servants of the Company obtained, not for their employers, but for themselves, a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and to sell cheap. They  
20 insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master ; and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but  
30 never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource : when the evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong

with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil Genii, rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried 10 through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate.

The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers; and to all the haughty race presented a dauntless front. Their armies, every where outnumbered, were every where victorious. A succession of commanders, formed in the school of Clive, still maintained the fame of their country. "It must be acknowledged," says the Mussulman historian of those times, "that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and un- 20 daunted bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence; nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government, if they exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or worthier of command. But the people under their dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty 30 and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions which they suffer."

It was impossible, however, that even the military establishment should long continue exempt from the vices which pervaded every other part of the government. Rapacity,

luxury, and the spirit of insubordination spread from the civil service to the officers of the army, and from the officers to the soldiers. The evil continued to grow till every mess-room became the seat of conspiracy and cabal, and till the sepoys could be kept in order only by wholesale executions.

At length the state of things in Bengal began to excite uneasiness at home. A succession of revolutions; a dis-organized administration; the natives pillaged, yet the Com-  
10 pany not enriched; every fleet bringing back fortunate adventurers who were able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the government; war on the frontiers; disaffection in the army; the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verres and Pizarro; such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs. The general cry was that Clive, and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded.

This feeling manifested itself in the strongest manner at a  
20 very full General Court of Proprietors. Men of all parties, forgetting their feuds and trembling for their dividends, exclaimed that Clive was the man whom the crisis required, that the oppressive proceedings which had been adopted respecting his estate ought to be dropped, and that he ought to be entreated to return to India.

Clive rose. As to his estate, he said, he would make such propositions to the Directors as would, he trusted, lead to an amicable settlement. But there was a still greater difficulty. It was proper to tell them that he never would undertake  
30 the government of Bengal while his enemy Sullivan was chairman of the Company. The tumult was violent. Sullivan could scarcely obtain a hearing. An overwhelming majority of the assembly was on Clive's side. Sullivan wished to try the result of a ballot. But, according to the by-laws of the Company, there can be no ballot except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors; and, though hundreds were

present, nine persons could not be found to set their hands to such a requisition.

Clive was in consequence nominated Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in Bengal. But he adhered to his declaration, and refused to enter on his office till the event of the next election of Directors should be known. The contest was obstinate ; but Clive triumphed. Sullivan, lately absolute master of the India House, was within a vote of losing his own seat ; and both the chairman and the deputy-chairman were friends of the new governor. 10

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Clive sailed for the third and last time to India. In May, 1765, he reached Calcutta ; and he found the whole machine of government even more fearfully disorganized than he had anticipated. Meer Jaffier, who had some time before lost his eldest son Meeran, had died while Clive was on his voyage out. The English functionaries at Calcutta had already received from home strict orders not to accept presents from the native princes. But, eager for gain, and unaccustomed to respect the commands of their distant, 20 ignorant, and negligent masters, they again set up the throne of Bengal to sale. About one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling was distributed among nine of the most powerful servants of the Company ; and, in consideration of this bribe, an infant son of the deceased Nabob was placed on the seat of his father. The news of the ignominious bargain met Clive on his arrival. In a private letter written immediately after his landing to an intimate friend, he poured out his feelings in language which, proceeding from a man so daring, so resolute, and so little given to 30 theatrical display of sentiment, seems to us singularly touching. "Alas !" he says, "how is the English name sunk ! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrecoverably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be

accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt."

The Council met, and Clive stated to them his full determination to make a thorough reform, and to use for that purpose the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been confided to him. Johnstone, one of the boldest and worst men in the assembly, made some show of  
10 opposition. Clive interrupted him, and haughtily demanded whether he meant to question the power of the new government. Johnstone was cowed, and disclaimed any such intention. All the faces round the board grew long and pale; and not another syllable of dissent was uttered.

Clive redeemed his pledge. He remained in India about a year and a half; and in that short time effected one of the most extensive, difficult, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by any statesman. This was the part of his life on which he afterwards looked back with most pride.  
20 He had it in his power to triple his already splendid fortune; to connive at abuses while pretending to remove them, to conciliate the good-will of all the English in Bengal, by giving up to their rapacity a helpless and timid race, who knew not where lay the island which sent forth their oppressors, and whose complaints had little chance of being heard across fifteen thousand miles of ocean. He knew that, if he applied himself in earnest to the work of reformation, he should raise every bad passion in arms against him. He knew how unscrupulous, how implacable, would  
30 be the hatred of these ravenous adventurers who, having counted on accumulating in a few months fortunes sufficient to support peerages, should find all their hopes frustrated. But he had chosen the good part; and he called up all the force of his mind for a battle far harder than that of Plassey. At first success seemed hopeless; but soon all obstacles began to bend before that iron courage and that vehement

will. The receiving of presents from the natives was rigidly prohibited. The private trade of the servants of the Company was put down. The whole settlement seemed to be set, as one man, against these measures. But the inexorable governor declared that, if he could not find support at Fort William, he would procure it elsewhere, and sent for some civil servants from Madras to assist him in carrying on the administration. The most factious of his opponents he turned out of their offices. The rest submitted to what was inevitable; and in a very short time all resistance was 10 quelled.

But Clive was far too wise a man not to see that the recent abuses were partly to be ascribed to a cause which could not fail to produce similar abuses, as soon as the pressure of his strong hand was withdrawn. The Company had followed a mistaken policy with respect to the remuneration of its servants. The salaries were too low to afford even those indulgences which are necessary to the health and comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate. To lay by a rupee from such scanty pay was impossible. It could not be sup- 20 posed that men of even average abilities would consent to pass the best years of life in exile, under a burning sun, for no other consideration than these stinted wages. It had accordingly been understood, from a very early period, that the Company's agents were at liberty to enrich themselves by their private trade. This practice had been seriously injurious to the commercial interests of the corporation. That very intelligent observer, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign of James the First, strongly urged the Directors to apply a remedy to the abuse. "Absolutely prohibit the private 30 trade," said he; "for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from."

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the old system, paid low salaries, and connived at the indirect gains of the agents. The pay of a member of Council was only three hundred pounds a year. Yet it was notorious that such a functionary could not live in India for less than ten times that sum ; and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest of Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, 10 but could do little harm in any other way. But the Company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were in truth proconsuls, proprætors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service, and by the implied permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means ; and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated 20 Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power, and to require them to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be effectual which should not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the Company. The Directors, he knew, were not disposed to sanction any increase of the salaries out of their own treasury. The only course which remained open to the governor was one which exposed him to much misrepresentation, but which we think him fully justified in adopting. He appropriated to the support of the service 30 the monopoly of salt, which has formed, down to our own time, a principal head of Indian revenue ; and he divided the proceeds according to a scale which seems to have been not unreasonably fixed. He was in consequence accused by his enemies, and has been accused by historians, of disobeying his instructions, of violating his promises, of authorising that very abuse which it was his special mission to destroy,

namely, the trade of the Company's servants. But every discerning and impartial judge will admit, that there was really nothing in common between the system which he set up and that which he was sent to destroy. The monopoly of salt had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born. It continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue; and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices 10 by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly, but surely, acquiring a competence. Yet such is the injustice of mankind that none of those acts which are the real stains of his life has drawn on him so much obloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success of all his other reforms.

He had quelled the opposition of the civil service: that of the army was more formidable. Some of the retrenchments which had been ordered by the Directors affected the 20 interests of the military service; and a storm arose, such as even Cæsar would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing to encounter the resistance of those who held the power of the sword, in a country governed only by the sword. Two hundred English officers engaged in a conspiracy against the government, and determined to resign their commissions on the same day, not doubting that Clive would grant any terms rather than see the army, on which alone the British empire in the East rested, left without commanders. They little knew the unconquerable spirit 30 with which they had to deal. Clive had still a few officers round his person on whom he could rely. He sent to Fort St. George for a fresh supply. He gave commissions even to mercantile agents who were disposed to support him at this crisis; and he sent orders that every officer who resigned should be instantly brought up to Calcutta. The

conspirators found that they had miscalculated. The governor was inexorable. The troops were steady. The sepoy, over whom Clive had always possessed extraordinary influence, stood by him with unshaken fidelity. The leaders in the plot were arrested, tried, and cashiered. The rest, humbled and dispirited, begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations. Many of them declared their repentance even with tears. The younger offenders Clive treated with lenity. To the ringleaders he was inflexibly severe; but  
10 his severity was pure from all taint of private malevolence. While he sternly upheld the just authority of his office, he passed by personal insults and injuries with magnanimous disdain. One of the conspirators was accused of having planned the assassination of the governor; but Clive would not listen to the charge. "The officers," he said, "are Englishmen, not assassins."

While he reformed the civil service and established his authority over the army, he was equally successful in his foreign policy. His landing on Indian ground was the  
20 signal for immediate peace. The Nabob of Oude, with a large army, lay at that time on the frontier of Bahar. He had been joined by many Afghans and Mahrattas, and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest language, and submitted to such terms as the new governor chose to dictate.

At the same time, the government of Bengal was placed on a new footing. The power of the English in that province  
30 had hitherto been altogether undefined. It was unknown to the ancient constitution of the empire, and it had been ascertained by no compact. It resembled the power which, in the last decrepitude of the Western Empire, was exercised over Italy by the great chiefs of foreign mercenaries, the Ricimers and the Odoacers, who put up and pulled down at their pleasure a succession of insignificant princes, dignified

with the names of Caesar and Augustus. But as in Italy, so in India, the warlike strangers at length found it expedient to give to a domination which had been established by arms the sanction of law and ancient prescription. Theodoric thought it politic to obtain from the distant court of Byzantium a commission appointing him ruler of Italy; and Clive, in the same manner, applied to the Court of Delhi for a formal grant of the powers of which he already possessed the reality. The Mogul was absolutely helpless; and, though he murmured, had reason to be well pleased 10 that the English were disposed to give solid rupees which he never could have extorted from them, in exchange for a few Persian characters which cost him nothing. A bargain was speedily struck; and the titular sovereign of Hindostan issued a warrant, empowering the Company to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

There was still a Nabob, who stood to the British authorities in the same relation in which the last drivelling Chilperics and Childerics of the Merovingian line stood to their able and vigorous Mayors of the Palace, to Charles 20 Martel and to Pepin. At one time Clive had almost made up his mind to discard this phantom altogether; but he afterwards thought that it might be convenient still to use the name of the Nabob, particularly in dealings with other European nations. The French, the Dutch, and the Danes would, he conceived, submit far more readily to the authority of the native Prince, whom they had always been accustomed to respect, than to that of a rival trading corporation. This policy may, at that time, have been judicious. But the pretence was soon found to be too flimsy to impose 30 on any body; and it was altogether laid aside. The heir of Meer Jaffier still resides at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of his house, still bears the title of Nabob, is still accosted by the English as "Your Highness," and is still suffered to retain a portion of the regal state which surrounded his ancestors. A pension of a hundred and sixty

thousand pounds a year is annually paid to him by the government. His carriage is surrounded by guards, and preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and his dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers of justice. But he has not the smallest share of political power, and is, in fact, only a noble and wealthy subject of the Company.

It would have been easy for Clive, during his second administration in Bengal, to accumulate riches such as no  
10 subject in Europe possessed. He might indeed, without subjecting the rich inhabitants of the province to any pressure beyond that to which their mildest rulers had accustomed them, have received presents to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a year. The neighbouring princes would gladly have paid any price for his favour. But he appears to have strictly adhered to the rules which he had laid down for the guidance of others. The Rajah of Benares offered him diamonds of great value. The Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money and a  
20 casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously, but peremptorily refused : and it should be observed that he made no merit of his refusal, and that the facts did not come to light till after his death. He kept an exact account of his salary, of his share of the profits accruing from the trade in salt, and of those presents which, according to the fashion of the East, it would be churlish to refuse. Out of the sum arising from these resources he defrayed the expenses of his situation. The surplus he divided among a few attached friends who had accompanied him to India. He always boasted, and, as  
30 far as we can judge, he boasted with truth, that his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.

One large sum indeed he accepted. Meer Jaffier had left him by will above sixty thousand pounds sterling in specie and jewels : and the rules which had been recently laid down extended only to presents from the living, and did not affect legacies from the dead. Clive took the

money, but not for himself. He made the whole over to the Company, in trust for officers and soldiers invalided in their service. The fund which still bears his name owes its origin to this princely donation

After a stay of eighteen months, the state of his health made it necessary for him to return to Europe. At the close of January, 1767, he quitted for the last time the country on whose destinies he had exercised so mighty an influence.

His second return from Bengal was not, like his first, 10 greeted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Numerous causes were already at work which embittered the remaining years of his life, and hurried him to an untimely grave. His old enemies at the India house were still powerful and active ; and they had been reinforced by a large band of allies whose violence far exceeded their own. The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors from whom he had rescued Bengal persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock, merely 20 that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him ; and the temper of the public mind was then such, that these arts, which under ordinary circumstances, would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression.

The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons 30 had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent ; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East ; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the

awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home ; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connection, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed.

10 Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquis. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth."

20 The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state ; but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known. That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of every thing in their neighbourhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches were  
30 finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill-governed households corrupted half the servants in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud and the crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men ; these were things which



excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumoured that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord-Lieutenant on the race-ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as Domesday Book, had been accumulated by violating public faith, by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil 10 parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonour the riches which he now lavished with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy, of Turcaret and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain and Richard the Third. A tempest of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans 20 which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The macaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature 30 of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars and flatterers, tricking out his

chairmen with the most costly hot-house flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires. Mackenzie, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper, in that lofty expostulation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list  
10 of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart.

Such, as far as we can now judge, was the feeling of  
20 the country respecting Nabobs in general. And Clive was eminently the Nabob, the ablest, the most celebrated, the highest in rank, the highest in fortune, of all the fraternity. His wealth was exhibited in a manner which could not fail to excite odium. He lived with great magnificence in Berkeley Square. He reared one palace in Shropshire and another at Claremont. His parliamentary influence might vie with that of the greatest families. But in all this splendour and power envy found something to sneer at. On some of his relations wealth and dignity seem to  
30 have sat as awkwardly as on Mackenzie's Margery Mushroom. Nor was he himself, with all his great qualities, free from those weaknesses which the satirists of that age represented as characteristic of his whole class. In the field, indeed, his habits were remarkably simple. He was constantly on horseback, was never seen but in his uniform, never wore silk, never entered a palanquin, and was content

with the plainest fare. But when he was no longer at the head of an army, he laid aside this Spartan temperance for the ostentatious luxury of a Sybarite. Though his person was ungraceful, and though his harsh features were redeemed from vulgar ugliness only by their stern, dauntless and commanding expression, he was fond of rich and gay clothing, and replenished his wardrobe with absurd profusion. Sir John Malcolm gives us a letter worthy of Sir Matthew Mite, in which Clive orders "two hundred shirts, the best and finest that can be got for love or money." A 10 few follies of this description, grossly exaggerated by report, produced an unfavourable impression on the public mind. But this was not the worst. Black stories, of which the greater part were pure inventions, were circulated respecting his conduct in the East. He had to bear the whole odium, not only of those bad acts to which he had once or twice stooped, but of all the bad acts of all the English in India, of bad acts committed when he was absent, nay, of bad acts which he had manfully opposed and severely 20 punished. The very abuses against which he had waged an honest, resolute, and successful war, were laid to his account. He was, in fact, regarded as the personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the public, with or without reason, ascribed to the English adventurers in Asia. We have ourselves heard old men, who knew nothing of his history, but who still retained the prejudices conceived in their youth, talk of him as an incarnate fiend. Johnson always held this language. Brown, whom Clive employed to lay out his pleasure grounds, was amazed to see in the house of his noble employer a chest which had once been 30 filled with gold from the treasury of Moorshedabad, and could not understand how the conscience of the criminal could suffer him to sleep with such an object so near to his bedchamber. The peasantry of Surrey looked with mysterious horror on the stately house which was rising at Claremont, and whispered that the great wicked lord had

ordered the walls to be made so thick in order to keep out the devil, who would one day carry him away bodily. Among the gaping clowns who drank in this frightful story was a worthless ugly lad of the name of Hunter, since widely known as William Huntington, S.S. ; and the superstition which was strangely mingled with the knavery of that remarkable impostor seems to have derived no small nutriment from the tales which he heard of the life and character of Clive.

- 10 In the mean time, the impulse which Clive had given to the administration of Bengal was constantly becoming fainter and fainter. His policy was to a great extent abandoned ; the abuses which he had suppressed began to revive ; and at length the evils which a bad government had engendered were aggravated by one of those fearful visitations which the best government cannot avert. In the summer of 1770, the rains failed ; the earth was parched up ; the tanks were empty ; the rivers shrank within their beds ; and a famine, such as is known only in countries
- 20 where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers-by, and, with loud wailings, implored a handful of rice for their children. The Hoogley every day rolled down thousands of corpses close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors. The very
- 30 streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained ; but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy in-

telligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were uneasy about their dividends. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects; and indignation soon began to mingle itself with pity. It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice of the country; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it; that one English functionary who, the year before, was not 10 worth a hundred guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London. These charges we believe to have been unfounded. That servants of the Company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at 20 home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn factors. It was, however, so loud and so general that it appears to have imposed even on an intellect raised so high above vulgar prejudices as that of Adam Smith. What was still more extraordinary, these unhappy events greatly increased the unpopularity of Lord Clive. He had been some years in England when the famine took place. None of his measures had the smallest tendency to produce such a calamity. If the servants of the Company had traded in rice, they had 30 done so in direct contravention of the rule which he had laid down, and, while in power, had resolutely enforced. But, in the eyes of his countrymen, he was, as we have said, the Nabob, the Anglo-Indian character personified; and, while he was building and planting in Surrey, he was held responsible for all the effects of a dry season in Bengal.

Parliament had hitherto bestowed very little attention on our Eastern possessions. Since the death of George the Second, a rapid succession of weak administrations, each of which was in turn flattered and betrayed by the Court, had held the semblance of power. Intrigues in the palace, riots in the capital, and insurrectionary movements in the American colonies, had left the advisers of the Crown little leisure to study Indian politics. Where they did interfere, their interference was feeble and irresolute. Lord Chatham, 10 indeed, during the short period of his ascendancy in the councils of George the Third, had meditated a bold and sweeping measure respecting the acquisitions of the Company. But his plans were rendered abortive by the strange malady which about that time began to overcloud his splendid genius.

At length, in 1772, it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India. The Government was stronger than any which had held power since the breach between Mr. Pitt and the great Whig connection in 20 1761. No pressing question of domestic or European policy required the attention of public men. There was a short and delusive lull between two tempests. The excitement produced by the Middlesex election was over; the discontents of America did not yet threaten civil war; the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis; the Ministers were forced to take up the subject; and the whole storm, which had long been gathering, now broke at once on the head of Clive.

His situation was indeed singularly unfortunate. He was 30 hated throughout the country, hated at the India House, hated, above all, by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company, whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions, of every Indian abuse and of every Indian reform. The state of the political world was such that he could count on the support of no powerful con-

nection. The party to which he had belonged, that of George Grenville, had been hostile to the Government, and yet had never cordially united with the other sections of the Opposition, with the little band which still followed the fortunes of Lord Chatham, or with the large and respectable body of which Lord Rockingham was the acknowledged leader. George Grenville was now dead ; his followers were scattered ; and Clive, unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided the Parliament, could reckon only on the votes of those members who were returned by him- 10 self. His enemies, particularly those who were the enemies of his virtues, were unscrupulous, ferocious, implacable. Their malevolence aimed at nothing less than the utter ruin of his fame and fortune. They wished to see him expelled from Parliament, to see his spurs chopped off, to see his estate confiscated ; and it may be doubted whether even such a result as this would have quenched their thirst for revenge.

Clive's parliamentary tactics resembled his military tactics. Deserted, surrounded, outnumbered, and with every thing 20 at stake, he did not even deign to stand on the defensive, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. At an early stage of the discussions on Indian affairs he rose, and in a long and elaborate speech vindicated himself from a large part of the accusations which had been brought against him. He is said to have produced a great impression on his audience. Lord Chatham, who, now the ghost of his former self, loved to haunt the scene of his glory, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and declared that he had never heard a finer 30 speech. It was subsequently printed under Clive's direction, and, when the fullest allowance has been made for the assistance which he may have obtained from literary friends, proves him to have possessed, not merely strong sense and a manly spirit, but talents both for disquisition and declamation which assiduous culture might have

improved into the highest excellence. He confined his defence on this occasion to the measures of his last administration, and succeeded so far that his enemies thenceforth thought it expedient to direct their attacks chiefly against the earlier part of his life.

The earlier part of his life unfortunately presented some assailable points to their hostility. A committee was chosen by ballot to inquire into the affairs of India; and by this committee the whole history of that great revolution which threw down Surajah Dowlah and raised Meer Jaffier was sifted with malignant care. Clive was subjected to the most unsparing examination and cross-examination, and afterwards bitterly complained that he, the Baron of Plassey, had been treated like a sheep-stealer. The boldness and ingenuousness of his replies would alone suffice to show how alien from his nature were the frauds to which, in the course of his Eastern negotiations, he had sometimes descended. He avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichund, and resolutely said  
20 that he was not ashamed of them, and that, in the same circumstances, he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received immense sums from Meer Jaffier; but he denied that, in doing so, he had violated any obligation of morality or honour. He laid claim, on the contrary, and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his victory had placed him; a great prince dependent on his pleasure; an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder;  
30 wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles; vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. "By God, Mr. Chairman," he exclaimed, "at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation."

The inquiry was so extensive that the Houses rose before it had been completed. It was continued in the following session. When at length the committee had



concluded its labours, enlightened and impartial men had little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible to vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues; that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India; and that it was in truth not for his dealings with Meer Jafier 10 nor for the fraud which he had practised on Omichund, but for his determined resistance to avance and tyranny, that he was now called in question.

Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on Sunday morning, it is no defence that he has saved the life of a fellow-creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defence that he was wounded at Waterloo. But 20 it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and, if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be 30 absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice the deliverer of Germany, William the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray the good regent, Cosmo the father of his country, Henry the Fourth of France, Peter the Great of Russia,

how would the best of them pass such a scrutiny? History takes wider views; and the best tribunal for great political cases is the tribunal which anticipates the verdict of history.

Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt this in Clive's case. They could not pronounce him blameless; but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down and were eager to worry him to death. Lord North, though  
10 not very friendly to him, was not disposed to go to extremities against him. While the inquiry was still in progress, Clive, who had some years before been created a Knight of the Bath, was installed with great pomp in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. He was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Shropshire. When he kissed hands, George the Third, who had always been partial to him, admitted him to a private audience, talked to him half an hour on Indian politics, and was visibly affected when the persecuted general spoke of his services and of  
20 the way in which they had been requited.

At length the charges came in a definite form before the House of Commons. Burgoyne, chairman of the committee, a man of wit, fashion, and honour, an agreeable dramatic writer, an officer whose courage was never questioned and whose skill was at that time highly esteemed, appeared as the accuser. The members of the administration took different sides; for in that age all questions were open questions, except such as were brought forward by the Government, or such as implied some censure on  
30 the Government. Thurlow, the Attorney-General, was among the assailants. Wedderburne, the Solicitor-General, strongly attached to Clive, defended his friend with extraordinary force of argument and language. It is a curious circumstance that, some years later, Thurlow was the most conspicuous champion of Warren Hastings, while Wedderburne was among the most unrelenting persecutors

of that great though not faultless statesman. Clive spoke in his own defence at less length and with less art than in the preceding year, but with much energy and pathos. He recounted his great actions and his wrongs ; and, after bidding his hearers remember that they were about to decide not only on his honour but on their own, he retired from the House.

The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions 10 to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step farther, and resolved that Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large sums from Meer Jaffier. Here the House stopped. They had voted the major and minor of Burgoyne's syllogism ; but they shrank from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of 20 the public, the previous question was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country ; and this motion passed without a division.

The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the Commons. They had indeed no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against 30 Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question ; and the House accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen, not blinded by faction.

The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British

Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis the Fifteenth had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastile, and, after years of suffering, left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in antechambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag  
10 between his lips. The Commons of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles ; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles ; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the Parliaments of France. Indeed he seems, at this time, to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr.  
20 Moore when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburne took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime theo-philanthropy, stolen from the New Testament, and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical  
30 Brahmins.

Clive was now secure in the enjoyment of his fortune and his honours. He was surrounded by attached friends and relations ; and he had not yet passed the season of vigorous bodily and mental exertion. But clouds had long been gathering over his mind, and now settled on it in thick darkness. From early youth he had been subject to fits of

that strange melancholy "which rejoiceth exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave." While still a writer at Madras, he had twice attempted to destroy himself. Business and prosperity had produced a salutary effect on his spirits. In India, while he was occupied by great affairs, in England, while wealth and rank had still the charm of novelty, he had borne up against his constitutional misery. But he had now nothing to do, and nothing to wish for. His active spirit in an inactive situation drooped and withered like a plant in an uncongenial air. The malignity with which his enemies had 10 pursued him, the indignity with which he had been treated by the committee, the censure, lenient as it was, which the House of Commons had pronounced, the knowledge that he was regarded by a large portion of his countrymen as a cruel and perfidious tyrant, all concurred to irritate and depress him. In the mean time, his temper was tried by acute physical suffering. During his long residence in tropical climates, he had contracted several painful distempers. In order to obtain ease he called in the help of opium; and he was gradually enslaved by this treacherous ally. To the 20 last, however, his genius occasionally flashed through the gloom. It is said that he would sometimes, after sitting silent and torpid for hours, rouse himself to the discussion of some great question, would display in full vigour all the talents of the soldier and the statesman, and would then sink back into his melancholy repose.

The disputes with America had now become so serious that an appeal to the sword seemed inevitable; and the Ministers were desirous to avail themselves of the services of Clive. Had he still been what he was when he raised the 30 siege of Patna, and annihilated the Dutch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the Colonists would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years. But it was too late. His strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering. On the twenty-

second of November, 1774, he died by his own hand. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory, the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices ; and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind  
10 ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults ; and we have not attempted to disguise them. But his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connection with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity.

From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the East. Till he appeared, his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered  
20 as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences that long series of Oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghizni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old when he approved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction. It is true that Alexander, Condé, and Charles the Twelfth, won great battles at a still earlier age ; but those princes were surrounded by veteran generals of distinguished skill, to whose suggestions must be attributed the  
30 victories of the Granicus, of Rocroi, and of Narva. Clive, an inexperienced youth, had yet more experience than any of those who served under him. He had to form himself, to form his officers, and to form his army. The only man, as far as we recollect, who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war, was Napoleon Bonaparte.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, 10 to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion.

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, 20 by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been taken away, if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has 30 been found lighter than that of any native dynasty, if to that gang of public robbers which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit, if we now see such men as Munro,

Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with  
10 Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.



## NOTES.

P. 1, l. 5. **Every schoolboy knows.** This expression has become almost proverbial, but Macaulay attributed to schoolboys an amount of information far beyond their ordinary acquirements, though slight enough to his own precocity and insatiable love of reading. **who imprisoned Montezuma.** In 1518, Hernando Cortes, a Spaniard of good family, was entrusted by Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba, with an expedition of discovery on the mainland of America. Passing round the coast of Yucatan, Cortes, with some five hundred Spaniards, two hundred Indian allies, and a few guns, entered what was afterwards called New Spain at the river Grijawa. Pushing on to Tabasco, and defeating the Tabascans, he continued his march along the coast by Cenipoalla and Tlascala, and reached Mexico in November, 1519. There, though Montezuma, the king, was naturally suspicious of his designs, he was received in a friendly manner, a place of residence being allotted to the Spanish forces. For a time these friendly relations continued; but Cortes, finding his position one of great hazard in the midst of a city so populous as Mexico, before long determined to seize the person of the king, and keep him as a hostage. This design he carried out, and the unfortunate monarch was compelled to take up his residence in the Spanish quarters where, though still allowed to play at being a king, he was in reality a prisoner. In the following year, hostilities having broken out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans, Montezuma was slain by his own subjects while endeavouring to pacify them.

l. 6. **who strangled Atahualpa** In 1524 Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro were permitted by the king of Spain to fit out an expedition to the East. After many adventures in various parts of the New World, they in 1532 reached Peru where Atahualpa, or Atahuallpa, was king, or Ynca, as the title was. Entering Cassamarca, a city before which Atahuallpa was then encamped, Pizarro persuaded the monarch to grant him an interview. At this interview Father Vicente, Pizarro's spokes-

man, endeavoured the conversion of the Ynca to the Christian faith, and demanded payment of tribute to the king of Spain. On both points Atahualpa returned an indignant refusal ; where-upon Pizarro, who had already disposed his troops in readiness for such a contingency, treacherously massacred the Ynca's body-guard, and made him prisoner. Shortly afterwards, on the pretence of a conspiracy, Pizarro caused Atahualpa to be strangled with a cross-bow string, having previously compelled him to embrace Christianity in order to escape the still more painful death of burning.

1. 8. **the battle of Buxar**, in 1764 Shuja-ud-daula, Nawáb of Oudh, with Sháh Alam, the emperor's son, and Mír Kásim, Nawáb of Bengal, whose cause against the English he had espoused, marched upon Patna, but being repulsed from that place, withdrew for the rainy season to Baksár on the Ganges. In October, Major Munro, with a force of seven thousand men, mostly sepoys, with twenty-eight guns, met the Nawáb's army of more than fifty thousand men, including many thousand hardy Afghán horsemen, and completely defeated him. This great victory opened the way to the capture of Allahábád, and drove Sháh Alam to treat for peace when he succeeded Alamgír as emperor. Shuja-ud-daula afterwards became an ally of the English, who maintained him on his throne, and later on helped him to a large accession of territory.

11. 8, 9. **who perpetrated Patna**, in the earlier days of his rule, Mír Kásim had done everything to cultivate the goodwill of the English, but before long the rapacity of the factors of the Company led to a quarrel, and in June, 1763, Ellis, a violent and unscrupulous man, at the head of the Patna factory, seized upon that city. The Nawáb easily recovered it, making prisoners of Ellis and about one hundred and fifty other Englishmen, of whom fifty were officers of the Company. In August, Mír Kásim was defeated in the battle of Gheriah, while Manghir was taken in the following month. In his rage at these reverses, Mír Kásim put to death all his English prisoners at Patna, together with several of his own nobles and officers who had been friendly to the English.

1. 10. **Travancore**, a province on the south-eastern coast belonging to the Peru Mal dynasty, a Kshatriya race dating from the fourth century A.D. They have always been bold and war-like and successfully opposed Muslim aggression. In 1805 the Rája made a "subsidiary alliance" with the British. **Holkar**, Jeswant Ráo, one of the principal chiefs of the Maráthas, ruling in Málwa. He was frequently in arms against the English, but was ultimately stripped of much of his territory, and reduced to subjection. His descendant still rules at Indor under the protection of the British Government. See Introduction.

II. 11-8. **Yet the victories . . . skies.** Macaulay's picture of the Mexicans underrates the pitch of civilization at which they had arrived. Though they had no letters, their picture-writing evidenced considerable art, they were skilful painters, and had numerous colleges. They excelled greatly in architecture, and while Mexico itself was superior as a city to anything in Spain, the neighbouring cities of Tlascala, Cholula, Yzucan, were as large and well-built as Cordova, Seville, Barcelona. The marketplace at Mexico for its vast size, the variety of its merchandize, and the perfection of its arrangement, was such as the Spaniard soldiers had never seen. The population of the place is estimated at three hundred thousand inhabitants, a number greater than that of any city in Spain, except perhaps Madrid. The Mexicans were by no means "ignorant of the use of metals," but showed cunning workmanship in gold, silver, lead, tin, brass, and copper. Their weapons were lances, darts, bows and arrows, and a peculiar kind of sword formed, says Helps, of "a stout stick, three feet and a half long, and about four inches broad, armed on each side with a sort of razors of the stone *itzli* (obsidian) extraordinarily sharp," and so powerful as to cut through the body of a man or even of a horse at a single blow. Their defensive armour also, though inferior to that of the Spaniards, was effective. If they "had not broken in a single animal to labour," it was because there were none for them to break in.

II. 15, 6. **who regarded . . . monster**, who fancied a horse soldier to be partly a man, partly a beast ; a sort of Centaur.

I. 17. **harquebusier**, a *harquebuse*, or *arquebus*, was a hand-gun ; the word literally means a 'gun with a hook,' but whether this hook was some peculiarity in the shape of the gun or was its trigger is undecided.

II. 17. 8. **able . . . skies**, in his first interview with Cortes, Montezuma remarked that his subjects were greatly frightened at the Spaniards, and said that "they threw thunder and lightning about."

I. 23. **Saragossa**, or **Zaragoza**, a city with at present about eighty thousand inhabitants, chiefly famous for its defence against the French in 1808 : **Toledo**, a city with about twenty thousand inhabitants, celebrated for its manufacture of sword-blades.

I. 24. **Seville**, a city of about one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, with a magnificent cathedral containing the tomb of Columbus.

I. 25. **Barcelona**, a commercial city of two hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, next to Madrid the largest city in Spain : **Cádiz**, with about sixty thousand inhabitants, a very ancient

city, one of the strongest naval fortresses in Europe, and a principal port for trade with colonies.

P. 2, ll. 1, 2. **Ferdinand the Catholic**, Ferdinand the Fifth, 1452-1516, king of Aragon, by his marriage with Isabella, queen of Castile and Leon, and by the subsequent conquest of Granada and Navarre, brought Spain under one crown. Ferdinand was one of the ablest statesmen of his time and a gallant soldier, but the glories of his reign are due even in greater measure to the noble character and administrative power of his queen. It was she who furnished Columbus with the means for his great enterprise when no one else would listen to him. The one blot on this joint reign was the intolerance shown to Jews, Musalmáns, and heretics, and the establishment of the Inquisition.

l. 2. **myriads of cavalry**, the allusion is especially to the horsemen of the Maráthas: **long trains of artillery**, the artillery in use in India in these days was more formidable in appearance than in reality.

l. 3. **the Great Captain**, this title was given to Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova for his exploits against the Moors in the wars of Ferdinand and Isabella.

ll. 11, 2. **Mr. Mill's merit**, this opinion of Mill's History is one which later researches have shown to be unduly favourable. Sir James Stephen, who, in his examination of the Nand Kumár myth, has had occasion closely to examine the work, says that his "excessive dryness and severity of style produce an impression of accuracy and labour which a study of original authorities does not by any means confirm," and he elsewhere speaks of his bad faith and great inaccuracy of statement. So, too, Sir John Strachey, in dealing with the Rohilla War, says, "I can hardly express in moderate language my indignation at the misrepresentations, the suppression of truth, the garbling of documents of which I found that Mill had been guilty."

l. 14. **Orme**, formerly a servant of the East India Company, and for many years a most intimate friend of Clive's, who in 1763 published the first part of his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, but who wrote in such excessive detail that at the end of his third volume he had only brought things down to the year 1760, when Clive left the country after his first government.

l. 15. **minute even to tediousness**, so minute in detail as to be tedious.

l. 24. **Sir John Malcolm**, a distinguished soldier in the Company's service, Governor of Bombay, and author of a History of Persia.

l. 25. **Lord Powis**, Edward Clive, 1754-1839, raised to the

English peerage in 1794 as Baron Clive of Walcot, Governor of Madras from 1798-1803, at the end of which time he was thanked for his services by both Houses of Parliament, and in 1804 was created Earl of Powis.

II. 34-6. **even when materials**, even when we take into consideration the probability that those who furnished the materials and those who arranged them (*i.e.* Lord Powis and Sir John Malcolm), have chosen those materials and arranged them in such a way as would most conduce to give a favourable view of Clive

P. 3, l. 3. **passes biographers**, is greater even than that of most biographers; the expression is taken from ii. *Samuel*, i 26, "Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." Of this love of biographers Macaulay in his Essay on Warren Hastings speaks as "that disease of the understanding which may be called the *Furor Biographicus*," and elsewhere as the *lues Boswelliana*, the Boswellian disease, from the pronounced form in which it exhibits itself in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

I. 15. **on an estate .. value**, the name of the estate was Styche

I. 18. **a plain man**, a man of ordinary character. He is said to have been a man of hasty and sometimes violent temper, and from him no doubt Clive derived the passionate, haughty character for which he was so well known.

I. 19. **tact**, delicacy of feeling in dealing with his fellowmen.

II. 20, l. **avocations . proprietor**, duties and occupations of a man holding a small landed estate.

I. 21. **a lady from Manchester**, "His mother, to whom he always said that he owed more than to any school, was a lady remarkable for her virtues, her talents, and her sterling good sense" (Sir Charles Wilson, *Life of Clive*, p. 22).

I. 26. **lineaments**, a word more commonly used of physical characteristics, especially those of the features of the face.

II. 30-2. **sustained . . mind**, his strong will and fiery passions did not show themselves in mere outbursts of violent temper, but were accompanied, and in a measure redeemed, by a daring in action which seemed scarcely that of a sane person.

I. 33. **one of his uncles**, this was Mr. Bayley, who had married a sister of Mrs. Clive, and with whom, for what reason it is not known, Clive was sent to live when only three years old.

I. 34. **out of measure**, beyond all bounds.

I. 35. **flies out**, flies into a passion.

P. 4, l. 4. **stone spout**, one of the gargoyles of the spire for carrying the rain water off from the building.

ll. 5, 6. **a kind ... army**, a band of schoolboys who demanded tribute from the shopkeepers, on condition that they should be protected from having their shop windows broken by other boys ; a species of juvenile blackmail. On one occasion, "on the breaking down of a mound of turf, by means of which this youthful banditti were labouring to turn a dirty water-course into the shop-door of an obnoxious dealer, he threw himself into the gutter, and filled the breach with his body till his companions were in a condition more effectually to repair the damage." (Gleig, *Life*, p. 3.)

ll. 8, 9. **He was sent .. school**, first to Dr. Eaton, at Lostocke in Cheshire, while still very young, then to Mr. Burslem at Market Drayton, when eleven years old, for a short time after this to Merchant Taylors' school in London, and lastly to Mr. Sterling at Hemel Hemstead in Hertfordshire, where he remained till he sailed for India. It was Dr. Eaton who predicted, "If that lad should live to be a man, and an opportunity be given for the exertion of his talents, few names will be greater than his."

l. 14. **a dunce**, a stupid lad. Originally in the phrase "a Dunsman," i.e. a follower of the great schoolman, Duns Scotus, an appellation given them by their great opponents the Thomists, or disciples of another great schoolman, Thomas Aquinas. 'Duns' was from the name of a place, according to some from Dunse in Berwickshire, according to others from Dunston in Northumberlandshire.

l. 16. **slender parts**, small talent.

l. 18. **a writership**, the junior civil servants of former days were called 'writers,' their work being that of clerks in the factories.

l. 19. **shipped him off**, as though he were a bale of goods for export.

ll. 19-20. **to make .. force**, so of Hastings Macaulay says, "Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune, or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to any body."

l. 22. **the East India College**, at Haileybury in Hertfordshire, where those nominated for a "writership" studied for two years before being sent out to India, law and Oriental languages being among the chief subjects. When the competition system came into force in 1858, the College passed into other hands.

l. 34. **diplomatic**, that which has to do with negotiations with other powers.

l. 35. **to take stock**, to keep account of merchandise received from and forwarded to England: **to make ... weavers**, this in

early days was one of the principal employments of the factories, the weavers whose silk and cotton goods they sent to England being too poor to buy the material for their weaving unless they received money in advance

l. 36. **private traders**, the "interlopers," as they were called, of whom the Company was naturally so jealous.

P. 5, l. 1. **infringe**, interfere with; literally to break into. This monopoly had been granted to the Company originally in 1657, renewed in 1661, 1698, and 1702.

ll. 1-3. **The younger ... debt**, the senior merchants received only £40 a year, the junior merchants £30, factors £15, and writers £5. Even the President of the Council had but £300 a year, and his Councillors from £40 to £100.

l. 6. **Madras**, at that time took official precedence of Bengal as being an earlier settlement.

l. 12 **with the rapidity** gourd, "which came up in a night, and perished in a night," *Jonah*, iv. 6-10.

l. 21. **Many devices**, such as *pankhas*, thermantidotes, *tatts*, the use of ice, etc.

l. 35. **domain**, estate, that over which lordship is exercised.

P. 6, l. 1. **Nabob of the Carnatic**, the Karnátak is an extensive territory stretching along the entire Coromandel coast from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, and containing, among other cities, Madras, Pondicherry, Tanjor, Trichinopoly, etc. Except for the French settlement of Pondicherry, the whole of this territory is now under the British Government, and the Nawáb has become a private nobleman.

l. 2. **the Deccan**, or Dakhan, *i.e.* the southern country, which included the whole of the country bounded on the north by the river Nerbada, and on the east, south, and north, by the Indian Ocean.

l. 4. **the Great Mogul**, the Emperor of India, head of the Mughals, who under Bábar first established their power in India. Bábar was grandson of Timúr, more commonly known as Tamerlane, the Scythian Shepherd, who, when over sixty years of age, descended upon India with his vast hordes in 1398, but afterwards returned to Central Asia. Bábar's mother was a descendant of the Mughal or Mongol family of Ghengiz Khán.

ll. 8-11. **There is still . . . disputed**, the Nizám of Haidarábád is now a ruler of more independent power than Macaulay represents him, though in matters of importance, especially those not concerned merely with internal administration, he would not act without asking the advice of the Resident, the representative of the Government of India. The cantonment referred to is that of Sikandarábád, a few miles from the city of Haidarábád, with a

strong force known as the Haidarábád Contingent, whose services are paid for by the Nizám.

l. 11. **There is still a Mogul**, this was written in 1840. The last of the Mughals, Badádur Sháh, was after the Mutiny deported to Barma, where he died shortly afterwards.

l. 17. **picked up Portuguese**, Malcolm says he acquired "an easy command of the Portuguese language."

l. 21. **He had contracted debts**. During his stay at Brazil, where his vessel was detained for nine months, he had to borrow money from the captain of the ship in which he sailed.

l. 26. **Fort St. George**, the official title of Madras.

P. 7, l. 5. **more especially Manchester**, near which he had lived with his uncle and aunt.

l. 17. **a home-sick exile**, one banished from his own country and eagerly longing to return.

ll. 18, 9. **He behaved schoolmasters**, "On one occasion," says Malcolm, i. 38, "it appears that his conduct to the secretary under whom the writers were placed on their first arrival, was so inconsistent with the rules of official discipline, that the governor, to whom it was reported, commanded him to ask that gentleman's pardon. With this order he complied rather ungraciously; but the secretary immediately after, before his irritation had time to subside, having invited him to dinner,—'No, sir,' replied Clive, 'the governor did not command me to *dine* with you.'"

l. 21. **the Writers' Buildings**, the quarters formerly allotted to the young civil servants on their first coming to India.

l. 24. **Wallenstein**, Count von Waldstein, the great general of the Imperialists in the 'Thirty Years' War between Spain and Holland, then one of its dependencies.

l. 24. **After satisfying great**, on one of his companions entering his room after he had made the attempt, Clive asked him to take up the pistol and fire it out of the window. On his doing so, Clive jumped up, and exclaimed, "Well, I am reserved for some end or another. I twice snapped that pistol at my own head, and it would not go off."

l. 31. **the war succession**, shortly after the accession of Frederic the Second to the throne of Prussia, in 1740, Charles the Sixth, Emperor of Germany, died without male heir. Anxious to secure his dominions to his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, he had in his latter days put forward a new law of succession, whereby she was to have the dukedom of Austria, and the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia. A renunciation of their claims had been procured from all who would be considered to have any, and all the great Powers of Europe had guaranteed the arrangement. Yet Frederic, who was one of the guarantors, on



a claim of the most shadowy kind, seized on Silesia, and his example led France and Bavaria to endeavour further spoliation. The Queen in the end beat back the French and Bavarians, but was obliged to make a treaty with Frederic, ceding Silesia to him.

l. 33. **The house of Bourbon**, that reigning in France, and also its representative on the Spanish throne.

P. 8, ll. 2, 3 **obtained the ascendancy**, got the upper hand, were more powerful than the English.

l. 3. **Labourdonnais**, a distinguished servant of the French East India Company, appointed Governor of the island of Mauritius, or as it was then called, Ile de France, in 1734. See Introduction.

l. 7. **to capitulate**, to surrender ; properly to come to terms, to enter into arrangements, from Low Lat. *capitulare* ; to divide into chapters or headings (Lat. *caput*, head), and so to propose terms.

l. 11. **stipulated**, made a condition ; Lat. *stipulari*, to bargain, from old Lat. *stipulus*, fast, firm. Skeat says the old story of the word being a derivation from *stipula*, a straw, part of which was retained by each of the parties, is a mere guess.

l. 12. **on parole**, on giving their word of honour that they would not attempt to escape.

l. 14. **till ransomed**, "Labourdonnais had entered into a compact with the English for the ultimate restoration to them of Fort St. George. Dupleix had, at the time, absolutely refused to recognize the compact. The French force had been able, he argued, to compel the surrender of Madras without conditions. He would then ratify no arrangement of that character, made contrary to his express directions, and therefore *ultra vires*." (Malleon, *Dupleix*, p. 54.)

l. 17. **Dupleix**, another distinguished servant of the French East India Company, appointed Governor of Pondichery in 1742. See Introduction.

l. 24. **raised to the ground**, completely demolished ; **raised**, from Low Lat. *rasare*, to demolish.

ll. 30, 1. **a triumphal procession**, a march through the town to proclaim the triumph won over the English ; a custom derived from the triumphal entry into Rome of a general returning after a victorious campaign.

P. 9, l. 10. **a military bully**, a hectoring, blustering officer whom Clive had detected cheating at cards. On Clive's charging him with this and refusing to pay, a duel ensued. Clive, firing first, missed ; whereupon his adversary, walking up, presented his pistol at Clive's head, and desired him to ask his life. This he did, but when the other further demanded an apology and a

retractation of his charge of cheating, Clive refused to give either. "Then I will shoot you," exclaimed the bully. "Shoot, and be damned," answered Clive. "I said you cheated, I say so still, and I will never pay you." Thereupon the bully, declaring that Clive was mad, threw down his pistol, and the matter ended.

ll. 16, 7. **was particularly...Lawrence**, Major Stringer Lawrence, who took such favourable notice of Clive, was a distinguished officer of the Company to whom, after his death, a monument was erected in Westminster Abbey. In the days of his wealth and greatness Clive endeavoured to repay Lawrence's kindnesses by settling on him an income of £500 a year. See p. 25.

ll. 29, 30. **The politics aspect**, whereas such politics as the Company had hitherto engaged in had to do with the native states of India, the question that now arose was how the influence of the French in India should be met and counteracted.

l. 32. **trading to the East**. The title of the English Company was "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

P. 10, l. 5. **travellers .. Peter's**, among such travellers were the Frenchman Bernier, who has left a most interesting account of his travels in the Mogul Empire, during 1656-1668; Tavernier, the jeweller, who in 1665 was invited by Aurangzeb to see his jewels, among them the famous Koh-i-Nûr diamond, and who describes and values the Peacock Throne at Delhi; and our own countryman Sir Thomas Roe, who in 1615 went on an embassy to Jahangir: **St. Peter's**, the great Catholic cathedral at Rome.

l. 8. **Versailles**, about eleven miles from Paris, the seat of the French court in former days, and especially famous for its magnificence during the reign of Louis XIV

l. 14. **Elector**, the Prince of Saxony, called "Elector" as one of the princes of Germany having the right to take part in the election of the emperor.

l. 19. **tainted, stained, blemished.**

l. 20. **the vices ... race**, oppression and intolerance.

ll. 21, 2. **The conflicting ... disasters**, such, for instance, were the struggles between the four sons of Sháh-jáhán at his death and even before it.

l. 24. **Fierce ... Hindoos**, such as the Játs and Rájputs.

l. 26. **fastnesses**, fortresses, strongholds.

l. 32. **Aurungzebe**, who succeeded his father Sháh-jáhán in 1666.

l. 36. **Violent shocks from without**, such as the invasion of Nádir Sháh in 1739, and that of Ahmad Sháh, the Abdáli, in 1748.

**P. 11, l. 3. Theodosius**, Emperor of the East, 378-395. On his death in 395, the empire came into the hands of his sons Arcadius and Honorius, whose weakness, with the still greater weakness of their successors, led to the dismemberment of the empire by the Vandals, Goths, and Huns.

**l. 5. the Carolingians**, or Karlings, the dynasty of Charlemagne.

**l. 9. the Franks**, literally the 'free people.' Their duke, or leader, ultimately developed into sovereign of the whole of France.

**ll. 12, 3. Charles ... Simple**, Lewis the Pious, son of Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, was the last who reigned over the whole of the Western Empire. At his death the Frankish dominions were divided among his sons, of whom Charles the Bald had the Western German provinces. He became Emperor of the West Franks in 875, and in 882 all the Frankish dominions, except Burgundy, were joined again under Charles the Fat. But in 887 Charles the Fat was deposed, and his empire again divided; Count Odo, Duke of the Franks, that is of the Western Francia, was chosen king of the Western Franks, but his reign was short, and at his death Charles the Simple, grandson of Charles the Bald, was crowned king. These kings had but small power, for the counts and dukes who ruled the provinces were fast growing into princes owing the king a mere nominal homage, and sometimes defying him altogether.

**ll. 13-6. Plerce invaders defend**, "Neustria, formerly the Kingdom of Soissons in West Francia, was allotted to Clothair I. in 511, as his portion of the dominions of his father Clovis (Hlodwig or Louis). The part of it which began to be called Normandy about 876 was, after many incursions, ceded to the Scandinavian chief Rollo by Charles the Simple, in 905. A Scythian tribe called the Ungri, and a Finnish tribe of Magyars, settled in Hungary in 890. But the westward progress of the latter was checked by their defeat by Henry the Fowler, king of the Germans, in 934. The Saracens in 712 commenced the expulsion of the Visigoths from Spain (who had settled there in 414), and established the Caliphate of Cordova in 735. They conquered Sicily between the years 832 and 878. It was in 887 that the Frankish kingdoms of Charles the Fat were finally split up" (Bowen).

**ll. 14, 5. flocked ... conceit**. The image is taken from the gathering of vultures round a dead body.

**l. 17. The pirates Sea**. The Northmen from Scandinavia who ultimately occupied Normandy.

**l. 21. Gog or Magog**, a reference to *Revelations* xx. 8, "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out

of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of which is as the sand of the sea." The two names are supposed to indicate the Scythians.

ll. 22, 3. **the Pannonian forests.** Pannonia was a Roman province between the Danube and the Alps, and corresponds with the eastern part of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the whole of Hungary between the Danube and the Save, Slavonia, and a part of Croatia and Bosnia.

l. 23. **The Saracen**, literally 'one of the Eastern people,' from Arabic *Sharqī*, of the East, but especially a name of the inhabitants of Arabia Felix.

l. 24. **Campania**, a district of Italy, bounded on the north-west by Latium, on the north and east by Samnium, on the south-east by Lucania, and on the south and south-west by the Tyrrhenian Sea. It was celebrated for the extraordinary fertility of its soil, the beauty of its scenery, and the softness of its climate. In the palmy days of Rome it was the favourite summer retreat of the Roman nobles.

ll. 26, 7. **The corruption ... life**, the image is that of insect life generated in putrefying bodies.

l. 31. **feudal privileges**, the privileges established by the feudal system whereby the lords of the fiefs were entitled to the service of those who held under them.

l. 33. **vassals**, dependents; the original sense is 'servant,' but the term was used especially of lords who under the feudal system were subjects of the sovereign, and again of those subject to these lords.

P. 12, l. 5. **bang**, or *bhang*, an intoxicating drug made from wild hemp

l. 6. **listening to buffoons**, allowing themselves to be amused by the jests and antics of professional fools.

l. 8. **A Persian conqueror**, Nádír Sháh, who descended upon India in 1739.

l. 11. **the Peacock Throne.** Tavernier, the French jeweller, says—"The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court, is nearly of the form and size of our camp-beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 feet wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns which sustain the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched

with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. . . . The under-side of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne which is opposite the court, there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the king is seated he has this jewel in full view. . . ." (Appendix iii to Constable's edition of *Bernier's Travels*.) Tavernier estimated the cost of the throne at something over twelve millions sterling. It was begun by Timúr and completed by Sháh Jahán.

I. 12. **Golconda**, about seven miles from Haidarábád, famous for its diamond mines.

II. 13, 14. **Mountain of Light**, the Koh-i-Núr, obtained from the Kohúr mine on the Kistna, and presented by Mir Jumla to Sháh Jahán in 1656 or 1657. From his descendant, Muhammad Sháh, it was taken by Nádir Shah, and carried off to Persia. Subsequently it passed into the hands of Ahmad Sháh Duráni in 1751, to Sháh Zamán in 1793, to Sháh Shuja in 1795, to Ranjít Singh in 1813, and on the annexation of the Panjáb in 1849, to the East India Company, by whom it was presented to the Queen. It is now one of the crown jewels.

I. 15. **Runjeet Sing**, the famous ruler of the Panjáb from 1780 to 1839.

I. 16. **the hideous** Orissa, Jagganáth, at Puri, near the mouth of the Máhánadi, one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage. Ranjít Singh bequeathed the Koh-i-Núr to this temple, but it never reached its destination. **The Afghan**, Ahmad Sháh, the Abdáli, in 1748.

I. 18. **The Warlike** . **Rajpootana**, a large tract of country in the north-west of India, of which the principal states are those of Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodpur, etc., all Hindus.

II. 19, 20. **A band** Rohilkund, the Rohillas, for the most part of the Yusufzai clan of Afgháns, early in the eighteenth century got possession of the district of Katehr in the north-west of India, and gave it the name of Rohilkhand. 'Rohilla' means merely mountaineer or highlander, but it became synonymous in India with Afghán or Pathán.

I. 20. **the Seiks**, or *Síks*, the followers of a theistic reform of

Hinduism preached in the Panjáb by Guru Nának during the latter half of the fifteenth century; they rapidly rose to be a military power, and under Ranjít Sing (b. 1780) conquered the whole of the Panjáb. In 1845 they came into collision with the English, and in 1849 were finally crushed, the Panjáb being annexed to the British crown.

1. 21. the **Jauts**, or **Játs**, are supposed to be a people who entered India by the Indus, at a period subsequent to the immigration of the Vedic Aryans. They are a brave and warlike race, who have frequently given trouble in India, and were not brought into subjection until 1826, when Lord Combermere took by assault their fortress-capital, Bharatpur, about 30 miles from Agra.

11. 25, 6. yielded . **England**, by the treaty of Salbái in 1742, the Maráthas, whose power had been so largely curtailed since they came into collision with the English, entered into an alliance that has never since been disturbed. For a sketch of their history, so far as it conflicted with British interests, see Introduction.

1. 33. **Poonah**, about 80 miles south-east of Bombay : **Gualior**, the capital of Sindhiás dominions, about 80 miles south-east of Agra : **Guzerat**, a province stretching north of the Gulf of Cambay, from the Gulf of Cutch to Málwa : **Berar**, a province immediately north of the Nizám's territories and now belonging to that Prince : **Tanjore**, a state south of Pondicherry.

P. 13, 1. 2. **kettle-drums**, drums whose parchment is stretched upon a concave vessel, somewhat resembling a caldron, or large kettle for cooking purposes.

11. 6, 7. **Many provinces** .. **ransom**, the Maráthas exacted from the provinces they plundered a ransom called *chauth*, i.e. a fourth part of the revenue raised in them.

11. 7, 8. the **wretched phantom**, the Mughal Emperor, who was now nothing more than a phantom of the power possessed by his ancestors.

1. 9. **black-mail**, from *black*, and F. *mail*, rent, tribute; an exaction of tribute from farmers and small owners in the border counties of England and Scotland, and along the Highland frontier, by freebooting chiefs, in return for protection or immunity from plunder; thence, any payment extorted by intimidation or pressure.

11. 9-12. **The camp-fires** .. **Bengal**, in 1736 Báji Ráo appeared before the gates of Dehli, just to show Muhammad Sháh, as he said, "that he was still in Hindustán": a little later Bengal was repeatedly ravaged by the forces of Rághuji, the Bhonsla chief of Berar.

1. 13. **magazines**, storehouses, factories.

l. 16. **the Mahratta ditch**, a ditch cut by the English in 1742 on the outskirts of Calcutta, on a rumour of the approach of the Maráthas.

l. 21. **Count .. Burgundy**, they being nominally vassals of the Carolingian Empire.

l. 22, 3. **the most .. Carolingians**, such as Charles the Fat or Charles the Simple.

l. 30. **at Lucknow**, the King of Oudh was deposed and pensioned by Dalhousie in 1856, and no representative of the family now enjoys any power at all. For the Nizám, see p. 6, l. 8.

P. 14, l. 1. **Chorasan (Khurásán)**, a province of Persia.

l. 14. **the Burrampooter**, the Brahmaputra, the great river to the north-east of India: **the Hydaspes**, the modern Jhelum, one of the five rivers of the Panjáb.

l. 17. **Candahar**, in Afghánistán, to the south-west of Kábul.

l. 22. **bills of lading**, schedules of goods exported.

l. 29. **Saxe, Maurice**, Count de Saxe, b. 1696, d. 1750, Marshal of France, was a natural son of Augustus II. of Saxony and Poland. His greatest achievements were the victories of Fontenoy, Laufeldt, and Raucoux, and the capture of Maestricht.

l. 30. **Frederic**, the Second of Prussia, generally known as "the Great," 1740-86.

l. 34. **some glittering puppet**, who was allowed the outward show of royalty, but no real power: **puppet**, a little doll. In the phrase "govern the motions" Macaulay probably recalls the fact that a puppet-dance was of old called a "motion."

P. 15, l. 7. **confounded the confusion**, made the confusion already existing doubly great. From *Par. Lost*, ii. 996, "With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, *Confusion worse confounded*."

l. 23. **de facto**, in reality.

l. 28. **the great Mulk**, this was Chín Kílch Khán, son of Gházi-ud-dín, a favourite of Aurangzeb.

l. 33. **Anaverdy Khan**, properly Ala Vardi.

P. 16, l. 2 a former Nabob, Dost Ali

l. 10. **the recent war**, in which Madras was taken, and the English failed in their attack upon Pondichery

ll. 23, 4. **owes .. immortality**, the Nawáb had borrowed large sums of money, and his bonds were to a great extent in European hands. The holders let principle and interest accumulate until at last Government interference became unavoidable. The matter got into Parliament about 1795, and the Nawáb's extravagant folly called down Burke's denunciations.

l. 34. **Te Deum**, the first words of a hymn in the Church Service, beginning, "We praise thee, O Lord"; sometimes used for a song or piece of music in celebration of a triumph.

P. 17, ll. 1, 2. **the garb rank**, there is no special garb worn by such Musulmáns, but Dupleix clad himself in costly native dress trimmed with jewels.

l. 5. **Kristna**, which rises in the Western Gháts, and flows into the Bay of Bengal.

ll. 7, 8. **He was intrusted . . . cavalry**, Dupleix was created a "Commander of Seven Thousand," one of the highest honours known under the Mughals, but the dignity in his case was a purely honorary one.

l. 20. **Mirzapha Jung**, more correctly Muzafar Jang, offended the Pathán chiefs who had raised him to the throne by refusing to comply with some of their exorbitant demands. They broke out into a mutiny, during which the Nizám was slain.

l. 29. **the vain-glorious Frenchman**, Macaulay speaks with unnecessary depreciation of Dupleix, and fails to see that his love of display, etc., was a calculated policy, with the view of impressing the natives of India.

P. 18, l. 10. **invested**, besieged, girt round by a besieging force; from Lat. *investire*, to clothe in or with.

l. 14. **not a single character**, no officer who had so proved his capacity for command as to be thoroughly trusted.

l. 20. **counsels**, projects, devices.

l. 29. **commissary . troops**, the officer in charge of arrangements for feeding the troops.

l. 36. **Arcot**, on the left bank of the river Palar, was built by the Musulmáns in 1716. Its citadel, though a mile in circumference, was surrounded by the town, and was never accounted of much strength.

P. 19, ll. 2, 3. **The heads . settlement**, the Governor of Madras at the time was Mr. Saunders, and it was to his encouragement and support that Clive owed his command. Of Mr. Saunders, Malleon, *History of the French in India*, pp. 432, 3, says, "In striking contrast to the conduct of the French Governor [Godeheu] was the action of the Englishman, Saunders. If the empire of Hindostan is an appanage of which the English have reason to be proud; if the possession of India has brought with it solid advantages to Great Britain, then do his countrymen still owe to the memory of Mr. Saunders a debt which was never fully acknowledged to himself. It was his constancy and resolution, his determination, when the English fortunes were at their lowest, to support Mahomed Ali, in order that through him he might stop the progress of Dupleix; that, more than any other



circumstances, changed the face of events ; that tended, by a slow but certain procedure, to lower the pride of France, to exalt the fortunes of England. Never did he despair, never did he hesitate in his determination to oppose those pretensions which, if submitted to, would, he felt, have overwhelmed the English settlement in ruin. True it is that he was fortunate ; true, that he enjoyed the rare advantage of having a Clive and a Lawrence under his command. But it is not too much to affirm, that but for his stubborn policy even these advantages would have availed nothing ; that but for his promptitude in recognizing and employing merit, Clive might even have languished in obscurity."

l. 20. **works**, sc. of defence.

l. 35. **Vellore**, about forty miles west of Madras.

P. 20, l. 19. **marshal**, the highest title in European armies.

l. 28. **the Tenth** .. **Cæsar**, the legion on which above all Julius Cæsar relied, and to which he showed many marks of favour. A legion varied in numbers at different periods, from about 3000 men in the period of the Kings, to about 6000 during the Empire.

ll. 28, 9. **the Old** ... **Napoleon**, the Imperial Guard formed by Napoleon consisted of the Old Guard and the Young Guard, and no soldier could enter the former until he had served four campaigns in the line with distinction. The Old Guard was devoted to Napoleon, and on it he relied when any special effort was to be made or any great crisis occurred. Its rout at Waterloo decided the battle, and Napoleon thereupon quitted the field.

ll. 29-34. **The Sepoys... themselves** This story is given by Malcolm "from authority I cannot doubt," but he does not state who that authority was.

P. 21, l. 2. **to relieve the place**, by pouring in re-inforcements. A small detachment sent from Madras was compelled to return without effecting its object, but its numbers being increased it marched again under Captain Kilpatrick, and joined Clive just after he had beaten off the assault.

l. 22. **poltroons**, cowards, dastards ; the original sense is sluggish.

l. 26. **the great** . **festival**, the Muharram, held by the Shia sect of Musalmáns in honour of Husen and Hasan, the two sons of Ali, cousin and first disciple of Muhammad, who were murdered by the order of Yazid, their rival. The festival is a movable one, being held as early as March and as late as September.

l. 27. **Islam**, the religion of the Musalmáns ; literally, obedience to the will of God, from Ar. *salama*, to submit ; from the same root also are *musalmán*, and *salaam*.

l. 30. **the Fatimites**, so called from Fatima, the wife of Ali, and favourite daughter of Muhammad.

l. 33. **the tyrant**, Yazid, the Khálif.

P. 22, l. 5. **have ... ghost**, have died : **ghost**, here meaning the vital spirits.

l. 7. **the infidels**, all who disbelieve the doctrines of Muhammad.

l. 9. **the garden Houris**, the paradise of good Musalmáns : **Houris**, are beautiful damsels who minister to the spirits of the dead ; from Persian *hur*, a black-eyed nymph.

ll. 9-13. **It was .. attack**. Macaulay speaks of Orme as "inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting" ; it will therefore, I think, be of interest to compare his description of this event with the infinitely more graphic and picturesque touches of Macaulay's version. Orme's words are :—"It was the 14th of November, and the festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Hassan and Hassein happened to fall out at this time. This is celebrated by the Mahomedans of Hindustan with a kind of religious madness, some acting and others bewailing the catastrophe of their saints with so much energy, that several die of the excesses they commit ; they are likewise persuaded that whoever falls in battle against unbelievers, during any of the days of this ceremony, shall instantly be translated into the higher paradise, without stopping at any of the intermediate purgatories. To the enthusiasm of superstition was added the more certain efficacy of inebriation ; for most of the troops, as is customary during the agitations of the festival, had eaten plentifully of bang, a plant which either stupefies, or excites the most desperate excesses of rage." **drunk bang**, of course in the former case **drunk** is used figuratively, in the latter, literally ; the figure is what grammarians call zeugma.

P. 23, l. 7. **transports**, outbursts, manifestations in which they were carried beyond themselves.

ll. 8, 9. **equal...command**, fit to undertake any military operation.

l. 12. **Timery**, about six miles from Arcot.

ll. 16, 7. **The military chest**, containing the money for paying the troops, providing food, etc.

l. 20. **Conjeveram**, some fifty miles south-west of Madras.

l. 21. **Arnee**, a few miles north of Madras.

ll. 27-29. **The Mahrattas elsewhere**, when de Gingen, the English commander, refused to take the offensive, the Maráthas, eager for action, upbraided the English troops, telling them

"they were not the same kind of men whom they had seen fight so gallantly at Arcot" (*Orme*, i. 206, quoted by Malcolm).

P. 24, ll. 5-8. **Clive ordered policy.** Malleison, *History of the French in India*, p. 299, probably with less truth, says, "Allowing for the moment his hatred of the great French statesman to stifle his more generous instincts, Clive razed the town to its foundations." The city was not yet built, but was struggling into existence, and the famous pillar had not, according to Malcolm, got beyond preparation.

ll. 10, 11. **had laid spell**, had exercised over the inhabitants of India an influence resembling the power of magic.

l. 16. **trophies**, literally memorials of the defeat of their enemy, from Gr. τροπή, a putting to flight of an enemy by causing them to turn, from Gk. τρέπαιν, to turn. Here the trophies were the city and column erected by Dupleix.

l. 33. **fully appreciated**, valued at its full price, estimated at its full value; to 'appreciate' is now-a-days loosely used in the sense of holding in great esteem, valuing highly, but it properly means only to put a price upon a thing, whether that price be a high or a low one.

l. 36. **interlopers**, men who had found their way into the army by a side door, as it were, not by the usual method of admission.

P. 25, l. 8. **born a scoldier**, one with a natural aptitude to the profession.

l. 9. **much conversing**, much intercourse or association; to 'converse' and 'conversation' now commonly used in the restricted sense of talking with a person, originally had the wider sense of general intercourse.

l. 21. **Captain Bobadil**, a braggart character in Ben Jonson's comedy of *Every Man in his Humour*, of the same type as Parolles in *All's Well that Ends Well*, and as Bessus in Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and No King*.

ll. 22, 3. **were propitious genius**, were favourable to the exercise of his peculiar mental powers. Malleison, *History of the French in India*, p. 416, says somewhat euphemistically, "He was not indeed a general. He did not possess the taste for leading armies into the field. Yet he showed on many occasions... that he could not only stand fire, but could defeat by his unassisted and natural skill, all the efforts of the enemy."

l. 28. **Bussy**, Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau. He is described by Malleison, *Dupleix*, p. 95, as "a man of first-rate capacity. He possessed a clear brain, and an intuitive power of managing the natives of India. To think on the moment, to decide on the moment, to act on the moment

—these were his maxims.” He was at this time with the Nizám, whom Dupleix had set up, at Haidarábád where he “had organized a complete *corps d’armée*; and had made himself so much too powerful for the native government that he necessarily provoked much jealousy, enmity, and plotting against him. Having succeeded, nevertheless, by great dexterity and firmness in maintaining his position, he obtained from the Nizám an assignment of four rich districts lying along the eastern coast above the Carnatic, still called the Northern Sirkars, which yielded ample revenue for the payment of his troops. . Bussy was a very able man, whom French historians delight to honour; but he was evidently intent, under Dupleix, as afterwards, under Lally, much more upon building up his own fortunes as a military dictator at Hyderabad than on sharing the unprofitable hard-hitting struggle between the two Companies in the Carnatic” (Lyall, *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*, pp. 73, 4, 7). Nevertheless when, on the recall of Dupleix, he was anxious to return to France from the feeling that in the new state of affairs he could no longer serve his country in India, he manfully stuck to his post on the urgent representation of Dupleix that if he left it the whole of his work at Haidarábád would be undone. Later on, it is true, when Dupleix on his return to France was so infamously treated by the French government, Bussy, who was to have been his son-in-law, deserted him, broke off the marriage, and appeared in the list of claimants against him.

P. 26, l. 6. **countenance**, support, favourable regard.

l. 8. **the sweepings galleys**, the vilest even of the dregs of the people condemned to slave at the oar in the public galleys. This form of imprisonment was a common one with European nations that had no colonies to which to transport their worst convicts.

l. 10. **strained his credit**, in borrowing money to carry on his operations. **procured Delhi**, fresh grants of authority from the emperor; a diploma is a document conferring a privilege, from Gk. *δ(π)λωμα*, literally anything folded double, diplomas apparently having originally been so folded.

l. 21. **Covelong**, a fort twenty miles south of Madras, “which, though it had no ditch, mounted thirty pieces of cannon, and was defended by fifty Europeans and three hundred sepoy” (Malcolm, p. 123): **Chingleput**, another fort forty miles south-west of Covelong.

ll. 23-5. **was of such a description** . . it. Malleison, *Hist.*, etc., p. 333, *f.n.*, remarks, “Lord Macaulay, in his *Essay on Clive*, states that the force was of such a description that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. Orme. how-

ever, who was Lord Macaulay's authority for this statement, simply remarks, it could hardly be expected that any officer who had acquired reputation would willingly risk it by taking the command of them."

l. 28. **crimps**, "were kidnappers of men, who entrapped them, and *kept them like fish in a stew* till they could dispose of them to the army or navy; Dutch *krimpe*, a stew where fish are kept till they are wanted, from *krimpen*, to contract. 'Crimping' was declared illegal by Parliament in 1641; but the first war in which we can be certain that it was not resorted to was the Crimean War of 1854-5" (Bowen).

l. 29. **flash-houses**, the resorts of 'flash' persons, i.e. thieves, gamblers, loose women, often decked out in cheap finery.

P. 27, l. 6. **took measures**, what these measures were is not stated; Malcolm says, "taking every precaution to prevent this corps from learning that the fort had fallen."

l. 17. **sister mathematician**, sister also of Edmund Maskelyne, Clive's great friend at Madras, with whom he escaped from Madras when the terms of capitulation granted by Labourdonnais were ignored by Duplex.

l. 23. **slighted**, so little thought of by his relations.

l. 33. **nickname**, surname, additional name. As the term came to be used for a shortened or corrupt form of a name, it was popularly believed to be connected with the verb to 'nick,' i.e. to 'notch,' 'clip,' whereas in reality it is a corruption of 'an ekename,' a name added to eke out or complete another name. For the form, compare 'a newt,' properly 'an ewt,' and conversely 'an adder' for 'a nader,' 'an auger' for 'a nauger.'

l. 34. **was toasted**, had his health drunk. "It was formerly usual to put toasted bread in liquor; see Shakespeare, *Merry Wives*, iii. 5. 53. The story of the origin of the present use of the word is given in the *Tatler*, No. 21, June 4, 1709. 'Many wits of the last age will assert that the word, in its present sense, had its rise from an accident at the town of Bath, in the reign of King Charles the Second. It happened that, on a public day, a celebrated beauty of those times was in the Cross Bath, and one of the crowd of her admirers took a glass of the water in which the fair one stood, and drank her health to the company. There was in the place a gay fellow half fuddled, who offered to jump in, and swore, though he liked not the liquor, he would have the toast. He was opposed in his resolution; yet this whim gave foundation to the present honour which is done to the lady we mention in our liquors, who has ever since been called a toast.' Whether the story be true or not, it may be seen that a toast, i.e. a health, easily took its name from being the

usual accompaniment to liquor, especially in loving-cups, etc."... (*Skeat, Ety. Dict.*).

P. 28, l. 2. **set with diamonds**, i.e. in the hilt.

l. 9. **Bobby**, a familiar corruption or nickname of 'Robert.'

l. 13. **booby**, stupid fellow; from Span. *bobo*, a blockhead, dolt. The old gentleman was perhaps punning on the name 'Bobby.'

l. 21. **redeeming...estate**, buying back Styche which had passed into other hands.

ll 23, 4. **even. times**, when men dressed much more gaily than at present; their dress being rich with velvet, satin, fine lace, and gold and silver embroidery

l. 26. **evacuation**, emptying of one's purse.

l. 27. **a contested petition**, even at present a contested election involves a candidate in a heavy outlay in the way of hired committee rooms, clerks, vehicles, etc., and if followed by a petition entails a still heavier drain in legal expenses. In Clive's day things were still worse, for elections lasted over many days, and bribery was rampant.

l. 30. **Jacobites**, the adherents of James (Latin *Jacobus*), that is, of the Stuart dynasty.

l. 31. **the last rebellion**, in 1745, raised with the object of restoring the Stuart dynasty.

ll. 35, 6. **Prince Frederic**, eldest son of George the Second. While Walpole was Prime Minister, a large and powerful body of Whigs, headed by Frederic, then heir apparent to the throne, made an alliance with the Tories, and a truce even with the Jacobites, simply out of hatred of that Minister's power.

P. 29, l. 6. **supplant**, displace, trip up; Lat. *supplantare*, to put something under the sole (*planta*) of the foot, in order to trip up the heels, overthrow.

l. 7. **Newcastle**, duke of, Prime Minister 1754-6, and again 1757-62, though during the second period he was only nominally at the head of affairs, Pitt exercising the real power.

l. 10. **Henry Fox**, first lord Holland, father of his more celebrated son, Charles James Fox.

l. 15. **men of parts**, men of capacity and talent.

l. 18. **the Reform Act in 1832**, the great charter of the modern representative system, which swept away the 'rotten boroughs,' re-distributed the seats, and lowered the qualification for voting.

l. 19. **Lord Sandwich**, John Montagu, fourth Earl, twice First Lord of the Admiralty, and Secretary of State in the interval.

ll. 22, 3. on the **Sandwich** interest, with the support of Lord Sandwich and as his nominee in opposition to Newcastle.

ll. 29, 30. **Sir Robert Walpole**, afterwards Earl of Orford, twice Prime Minister.

l. 31. **no quarter**, no mercy shown, nothing but the most rigorous measures used to destroy the political enemy.

P. 30, ll. 2, 3. **beat .. weapons**, got the better of half the lawyers even upon points of law in which they might have been expected to have the mastery.

ll. 3, 4 **carried ... Treasury**, in spite of all the influence that the Government could bring to bear, was again and again victorious when decisions of disputed points had to be taken by the votes of the members of the Committee.

ll. 5, 6. **when the resolution** House. Resolutions made by such a Committee have to be reported to the House when not sitting as a Committee, and may be rejected by an adverse vote.

l. 13. **the Duke of Cumberland**, second son of George the Second, especially hateful to the Tories for his cruelties in putting down the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland in 1746, when he obtained the soubriquet of 'the butcher.'

l. 18. **straitened ... means**, the greater part of his money being spent.

ll. 24, 5. **where calumny .. grave**, where he was pursued to his death by the lying representations and the intrigues of his enemies.

l. 29. **Fort St. David**, a factory to the south of Fort St. George and subordinate to it.

l. 34. **Gheriah**, about seventy miles due south of Bombay.

P. 31. l. 14. **a hundred channels**, i.e. a large number of channels, which form the delta to the north and east of Calcutta.

ll. 17, 8. **vegetable oils**, such as mustard oil, cocoa-nut oil, castor oil.

ll. 25-7. **the wealthiest marts .. India**. Of marts on the Ganges itself, Patna is the wealthiest; in shines the reference is to Benares; in capitals to Dehli and Agra on the Jamna, and Lucknow on the Gumti, both tributaries of the Ganges.

ll. 27, 8. **The tyranny** nature. In spite of the tyranny of rulers, so great was the abundance of produce that their subjects could not starve.

l. 29. **freebooter**, one who unscrupulously carries off any booty, plunder, he can lay his hands upon.

ll. 30, 1. **the garden of Eden**, a paradise as rich in produce as the Garden of Eden in which Adam and Eve dwelt.

ll. 31, 2 **multiplied exceedingly**. Bowen quotes *Psalms* cvii. 38, Prayer-Book version, "He blesseth them so that they *multiply exceedingly*, and suffereth not their cattle to decrease."

ll. 34, 5. **the delicate looms**, its silks and muslins.

P. 32, l. 3. **the Castilians**, the people of Castile, two provinces of Spain, Old Castile and New Castile, of a mountainous character, and so inhabited by a hardier race than the people of Valencia on the more southerly plains.

l. 4. **Valencia**, a port in Spain, of about 150,000 inhabitants.

l. 9. **the war of chicane**, contests in which intrigue is the weapon employed.

ll. 11-3. **We doubt ... Company**. In his *Essay on Warren Hastings* Macaulay puts this even more strongly: "All these millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company."

l. 18. **as they still are**. Chandernagore, or Chandranagar, still belongs to the French.

l. 27. **palaces**, stately houses bordering the plain in front of the Hugli.

l. 30. **the Course**, the drive along the banks of the river.

P. 33, l. 3. **Alverdy Khan**. "Ali Verdi Khan was one of the imperial viceroys who had made himself independent; his firm government had maintained a barrier against external invasion, and had kept peace within his borders" (Lyall, *Warren Hastings*).

l. 30. **It was** so, his hatred was based upon no reason, for he had suffered no injury at their hands.

P. 34, ll. 5-7. **A rich native .. delivered up**, this was Kishn Dás, son of Rájá Balab Dás, adviser to the widow of Ala Vardi's deceased son. The intrigue against Suráj-ud-daula was in progress when Kishn Das went down to Calcutta on a visit to Amin Chand (Omichund). The Nawáb demanded extradition, which was refused through a misunderstanding.

ll. 10, 1. **The servants soldiers**, in their efforts to counteract the designs of the French to acquire the position of paramount power in India.

l. 13. **The governor**, Mr. Drake.

l. 16. **The military commandant**, Captain Minchin.

ll. 17, 8. **The fort . resistance**. "Mr Holwell, a member of Council, assumed the command, and defended the fort with courage and spirit, but on the 20th the gates were forced and the place lost. From daylight on Sunday till late in the afternoon of Monday the deserted garrison signalled to the ships for assistance. A few boats might have rescued all who remained, yet the governor and the commandant made no effort to save their



countrymen. There is no more disgraceful incident in the history of the British empire" (Wilson, *Clive*).

l. 32. **the Black Hole**, a dungeon for the confinement of convict soldiers.

l. 35 **the summer solstice**, literally a point (in the ecliptic) at which the sun seems to stand still, the variation in the length of the days at the two solstices being almost imperceptible; the summer solstice is on the 21st June, the winter solstice on the 21st December.

P. 35. ll 13-7. **Nothing night**. "Ugolino de' Guercardeschi, a Pisan noble of the thirteenth century, and leader of the Guelphs. Having been defeated in an encounter with Archbishop Ruggieri, a leader of the Ghibelline faction, he is said to have been imprisoned, together with his sons, in the tower of the Gualandi (since called the Tower of Hunger), where he was left to starve, the keys having been thrown into the Arno. Dante (in his *Inferno*) has immortalized the name and sufferings of Ugolino. He is represented as voraciously devouring the head of Ruggieri in hell, where they are both frozen up together in a hole in a lake of ice" (Wheeler, *Noted Names of Fiction*.)

l. 24. **the places windows**, a position near the windows.

l. 25. **cruel mercy**, "mercy" in that it slightly relieved their tortures, "cruel," in that the water being given in such a small quantity their sufferings were heightened by their being thus tantalized.

ll. 31, 2. **had slept .. debauch**, had awoke from his drunken slumber. The Nawáb, however, appears to have been guilty of carelessness only, and not to have ordered or been aware of the cruelty inflicted by his guard.

ll. 34, 6. **on which work**, which had already begun to decompose.

P. 36, l. 3. **charnel-house**, this dungeon which had become a sepulchre. **charnel**, containing carcasses, Lat. *carualis*, from *caro*, flesh.

l. 5. **promiscuously**, in a confused heap, without any attempt at decent burial.

l. 16 **sent country**, to Murshidábád, then the seat of the Nawáb's court.

l. 34. P. 37, l. 2. **Within forces**, yet two months were wasted in disputes about the command, and the squadron did not sail till October 16th.

l. 6. **Louis the Fifteenth**, King of France, 1715-74.

l. 7. **Maria Theresa**, see p. 7, l. 32.

l. 24. **Hoogley**, or **Húgli**, on the river of the same name about fourteen miles from Calcutta.

l. 32. **made overtures**, endeavoured to open negotiations.

P. 38, l. 4. **had the principal ... affairs**, had the chief power of settling what was to be done. Macaulay marks their unfitness by mentioning that they had fled from Calcutta, and instead of desiring energetic measures cared chiefly about their own selfish interests.

l. 11. **to treat**, to enter into negotiations.

l. 30, l. **bold ... indiscretion**, so bold that his boldness was more like rashness, so sincere that his sincerity almost amounted to want of proper prudence.

l. 36. **boxing-matches**, hand to hand combats.

P. 39, l. 18. **to his own hurt**, with the result of injuring himself.

ll. 24, 5. **to hypocritical caresses**, the reference is to the 'soothing' letters he wrote to the Nawab.

ll. 25, 6. **the substitution ... hands**, see pp. 42, 3.

l. 29. **Omichund**, more correctly *Amin Chand*.

P. 40, l. 11. **on their own terms**, granting them whatever they might demand.

l. 24. **European**, chiefly French.

l. 29. **oscillated**, wavered; Lat. *oscillum*, a swing.

l. 34. **the daring in war**, a literal translation of *Sábat Jang*, a title first given by the Nawáb Muhammad Ali, and afterwards confirmed by the Emperor, the full title running *Zabdit-ul-mulk, Nasir-ud-daula, Sábat Jang Báhdur*.

P. 41, l. 2. **the most ... compliment**, in terms of extravagant admiration and professions of friendliness.

l. 4. **impale**, put to death by driving a stake through the body.

l. 13. **Selt**, or 'Seth,' means 'banker.'

l. 24. **donative**, present of money; the term was originally used of the largess given to the Roman army by an emperor on his accession, or on any extraordinary occasion.

l. 36. **never ... backs**, never fled before an enemy.

P. 42, l. 3. **ramifications**, branchings out in different directions. So many persons were privy to it and interested in its success, that there was great danger of the secret leaking out.

l. 7. **inventive genius**, skill in devising evasions and concealments of the truth.

ll. 12, 3. **He held . . intrigue**, he was in possession of all the details of the project, and could, if he chose, unwind before the Nawáb the whole web that had been so carefully woven.

l. 28. **all the other** . Calcutta, those who had suffered losses when Calcutta was taken by the Nawáb, English, Armenians, and natives.

P. 43, l. 9. **He forged name**, when questioned before the select committee of the House of Commons, Clive declared that to the best of his belief the admiral gave Mr. Lushington, Clive's secretary, leave to sign his name. but Clive at the same time avowed that he would have ordered the admiral's name to be attached whether he had consented or not. According to Elphinstone, Watson told the committee "they might do as they pleased" in the matter of signing his name, but at any rate he expressed no resentment or surprise at what was done, and he afterwards claimed an equal share in the plunder with those of the committee at Calcutta who had signed the sham treaty. Malcolm, i. 298, 9, seeks to palliate the recourse to a sham agreement in the following words :—"It is here to be remarked, that Omichund was no party to the treaty. That treaty was contracted between the Committee at Calcutta and Meer Jaffier; and both these parties were agreeing to the fictitious treaty, which was prepared for the sole purpose of being shown to Omichund, to lull him into security till the hour of danger from his hostility was past. This distinction is important: for, though it does not clear the parties concerned of deliberate deceit towards an individual, it removes all imputation of their having brought a stain on the good faith of the State, by the substitution, to the party with whom they treated, of a false for a real engagement."

ll. 14, 5. **offered . . Jaffier**, he did not *offer* to do so; his words were, "I have *determined* . . to proceed immediately to Cossimbazar, and to submit there our disputes to the arbitration of Mere Jaffier, Roydullub, Juggeit Seit, and others of your highness's great men."

l. 17. **would do . . answer**, though couched in terms of politeness, this declaration was a threat which the rest of the letter made perfectly intelligible to the Nawáb. The words, as quoted by Malcolm, were, "that the rains being so near, and it requiring many days to receive an answer, he found it necessary to wait upon him immediately."

l. 22. **his division, sc. of the army** which was under his command.

l. 24. **Cossimbuzar, or Kásimbázár**, "then bore to Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as the city of London bears to Westminster. . . At Moorshedabad were the court, the haram, and the public offices.

Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade" .. (Macaulay, *Warren Hastings*).

l. 25. **Plassey**, a few miles to the south of Kásimbázár.

l. 31. **his confederate**, Mir Jáfár.

P. 44, l. 3. **a council of war**, a council of his chief military subordinates who with him were to decide what action was to be taken. According to Malcolm, nine of this council, with Clive at their head, voted for delay; a minority of seven were for immediate attack.

l. 9. **was** again, became as resolute as ever.

ll. 29, 30. **the furies**. **Hole**, the Greek Furies, or Erinyes, goddesses supposed to track and punish crime, were originally only a personification of curses pronounced upon a criminal, and it is in this earlier sense that Macaulay uses the word.

l. 34. **Forty thousand**, Clive, in his letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, says "*thirty-five thousand*."

l. 35. **firelocks**, the old name for muskets fired by flint and steel, from which the sparks ignited the powder in the priming chamber of the barrel.

l. 36. **ordnance**, cannon; the older spelling was 'ordinance,' and the word originally meant the bore or size of the cannon; so *caliver*, the name of a small musket, is another form of *calibre*, i.e. bore.

P. 45, l. 14. **the Thirty-Ninth Regiment**, now the Dorsetshire regiment.

l. 16. **in Spain and Gascony**, in the Peninsular War for the expulsion of the French from Spain and Portugal.

l. 17. **Primus in Indis**, the first British regiment that served in India.

l. 27. **snatched the moment**, seized the opportunity that the moment offered.

ll. 32, 3 **were swept** fugitives, were carried away against their will in the headlong flight of the Nawáb's native troops.

P. 46, l. 4. **more populous**. . Britain, the population of Bengal at the time is estimated at about thirty millions. Macaulay makes no mention here of the battle of Baksár which was at least as important in its consequences as that of Plassey. Of this battle, Mr. Keene in his forthcoming *History of India*, which I am permitted to quote, says, "It has been usual to regard Clive's victory at Plassey as the decisive battle of British India. But it is evident that it was not comparable to the battle of Baksár. Plassey indeed may be said to have had no direct or immediate result beyond a palace revolution. It was

Baksár which, coming after the dazzling successes of Adams, conferred upon the Company and its officers a legitimate status as servants and feudatories of the Moghal Empire and virtual masters of Bihár, Bengal, and Orissa by Imperial grant" (Vol. i. p. 220).

ll. 9, 10. **not a little there**, very doubtful in what light his behaviour would be regarded by Clive.

l. 27. **wanted spirit**, lacked courage.

l. 33. **Patna**, on the Ganges, the chief city of Bahár.

P 47, l. 3. **installation**, ceremony of placing on the throne.

l. 4. **seat of honour**, the *gaddi* or cushion of eastern princes.

l. 6. **an offering of gold**, the customary *na'ar*, or present of gold coins, offered to princes, etc., in public *darbars* or private interviews.

l. 16. **smattering**, slight knowledge; the original sense of the verb is to prate.

l. 27. **servants**, *i.e.* civil servants, not menial servants

l. 32 **his mind ruined**, his intellect completely gave way under the shock which his hopes had received. Malcolm, i. 300, *f.n.*, says, "One month after Omichund was informed of the fictitious treaty, Clive, in a letter to the Committee at Calcutta, requests their support to enable Omichund to perform his contract for the supply of saltpetre at Patna; and in a subsequent letter (dated August 6th, 1757) to the Secret Committee of the Directors, after stating that he had recommended Omichund to pay a visit of devotion to Maulda, he adds, 'He is a person capable of rendering you great services, therefore not wholly to be discarded.' These notices of this man do not imply that his reason was, at this period, so much affected as might be concluded from the perusal of Orme's narrative"

P 48, ll. 27, 8. **Machiavelli Borgia**, Nicolo Machiavelli, the celebrated Florentine statesman and writer, 1469-1527, author of the treatise entitled *Del Principe*, a treatise on king-craft, and many poems, was, in 1502, "sent as an envoy to Cesar Borgia, ostensibly to thank him for the protection he had given to Florentine commerce, but really to sound him as to his intentions towards the republic. He remained three months in the court and camp of the prince, and witnessed the planning and execution of many of Borgia's plots" (Bowen).

ll. 34, 5. **the life individuals**, and therefore the expedients of the moment have less influence on its whole course.

P 49, l. 13. **doublings, shifts, twistings**; the metaphor is from the turning and twisting of a hare when pursued by hounds.

l. 16. **the one power**, i.e. as contrasted with native powers; when this was written the French, Dutch, etc., would not be spoken of as "powers."

ll. 19, 20. the "**yea . nay**," the assent or dissent; from the *Epistle of James*, v. 12, "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay," i.e. let your simple assertion be enough to bind you.

ll. 26, 7. **under .. subjects**, among the natives of India it is a common practice to bury their money under the floor of their dwelling-rooms rather than put it in the hands of bankers.

l. 28. **avarice**, avaricious persons; the abstract for the concrete.

l. 35. **his rice and salt**, i.e. the necessaries of life.

P. 50, ll. 2, 3 **to die ditch**, to die in the most miserable plight possible, without so much as a roof to cover his head.

l. 21. **convulsions of fear**, distortions of the body caused by fear.

ll. 32, 3. **The shower .. servants**. Malcolm quotes the provisions of the treaty from Clive's official letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated at Murshidábád, July 26th, 1758. As regards the shower of wealth that now fell upon the Company and its servants, the following are the details: One million sterling was to be paid to the Company for their losses in Calcutta by its capture by Suráj-ud-daula, and for the expenses of the campaign; the Company was to have the *zamindari* to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and the river, and reaching as far as Kalpi, and the entire property of the lands within the Marátha ditch, running round Calcutta, was to be vested in the Company. Besides this, £500,000 was to be given to those of the English who had suffered from the taking of Calcutta; £200,000 to the natives who had suffered in the same way, and £70,000 to the Armenians.

P. 51, l. 9. **florins**, a coin of Florence, so called because it bore a lily on it, from Ital. *fiore*, a flower.

l. 10. **byzants**, or 'bezant,' as the word is more commonly spelt now, a gold coin first struck at Byzantium or Constantinople, varying in value between the English sovereign and half-sovereign, or less. There were also silver byzants, worth from a florin to a shilling.

l. 13. **crowned .. diamonds**, with un-set rubies and diamonds on the tops of them.

l. 14. **to help himself**, to take as much as he liked.

l. 21. **the wages of corruption**, as the reward of the corrupt bargain into which he had entered with Mír Jáfár.

11. 22-6. **The biographer Wellington** "The argument that there was no law to forbid Clive's conduct is not Sir John Malcolm's but Mr. Mill's ... Malcolm merely reiterates it, and with no great vehemence. ... The Emperor Joseph I. invested Marlborough with the principality of Mindleheim in 1705. Nelson was granted the estate of Bronte in Sicily, and the title of Duke of Bronte by Ferdinand IV. king of Naples, in 1798; and Wellington was created Duke of Vittoria by Ferdinand VII., king of Spain, in 1813" (Bowen). These honours were all conferred with the knowledge and consent of the English crown.

1. 34. **of evil example**, likely to lead to evil imitation by others. When, on the death of Mir Jáfár, his son, Najmud-daula, was placed on the *masnad*, Johnstone and others of the Committee, to whom he owed his elevation, received large presents from him, and pleaded Clive's example in justification.

11. 35, 6. **that a general other**, and, as a consequence, to receive rewards from none others.

P. 52, l. 5. **bauble**, trifle, such as are immediately mentioned; from Ital. *babbola*, a child's toy: a **cross**, the symbol of some Order, as the cross of the Bath.

1. 6. **a yard . . riband**, also a symbol of such Order.

1. 15. **common law**, ordinary law; not in the technical sense in which the words are used in contrast with equity.

1. 27. **the army of occupation**, the allied armies of England, Prussia, Russia, etc., which occupied France when Napoleon was overthrown.

P. 53, l. 1. **by implication**, not avowedly, but by not interfering in such cases.

1. 9. **studied concealment**, every means to hide the fact.

1. 16. **It would word**, he had only to say that he did not consider twenty lákhs sufficient.

1. 19. **self-command**, restraint put upon his desires.

1. 24. **born . . purple**, born a sovereign; purple being since the Roman times the imperial colour.

11. 27, 8. **another . . Dowlah**, a creature as vile as Suráj-ud-daula.

11. 30, 1. **The viceroy . . Oude**, Shuja-ud-daula. Nawáb Wazír.

1. 36 **the India House**, the head office of the Company in Leadenhall Street, London.

P. 54, l. 4. **constituted manner**, by this arrangement the office of President of the Council was to be held in rotation for a period of three months at a time by the four senior members, and from the Council, which was to number ten members, Clive's

name was omitted. The ten members nominated at once passed a resolution that a form of government such as this would never work, and drew up a paper begging Clive to accept the office of president until there should be time to communicate with the Directors in England.

l. 28. **were alike.** feet, were equally eager to obey his wishes in everything.

l. 36-P. 55, l. 1. **the tract Carnatic**, the Northern Circars, or Sarkárs, a strip of country bordered on the north by Katák, on the west by Orissa and the Nizam's dominions, and on the south by the river Kistna, which had been ceded by the Nizam to the French. The Sarkárs comprised Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godáveri, and Krishna.

ll. 1, 2. **had the ascendancy**, had the upper hand; the term ascendancy was originally derived from the astrological use of the word *ascendent*, or *ascendant*, the point of the ecliptic which at any moment, especially at the birth of a child, is just rising above the eastern horizon.

ll. 6, 7. **The success splendid**, Forde quickly stormed Masulipatam, "one of the most daring feats of arms on record," says Wilson, and one in which "it is related that the gallantry displayed by the Sepoys during the assault was equal to that of their European comrades." The consequence was the cession of Masulipatam and the Northern Sarkárs to England, while British influence at the Nizam's court replaced that of the French.

l. 8. **a considerable Bengal**, "Forde's expedition emptied Fort William of stores and ammunition; and, when it sailed, only two hundred and eighty Europeans, and those 'the very scum of the men,' remained for the defence of the settlement" (Wilson).

l. 11. **in the hands of a subject**. Alamgir the Second was at the time a mere puppet in the hands of his Wazir.

ll. 12, 3. **the sport fortune**, one with whom adverse fortune played as she wished.

ll. 13, 4. **first Mahrattas**, when, in 1770, the Maráthas forced their way into Delhi, they invited the fugitive Sháh Alam to return from his temporary capital at Allahábad to the throne of his ancestors, and from that time, until he came under British protection, he was merely a puppet in their hands.

l. 27. **an accommodation**, an amicable arrangement.

l. 34. **bully**, frighten by their blustering threats.

P. 56, l. 2. **the governor of Patna**, Rám Náráyan, who had rebelled against Mir Jáfár when he, finding his treasury empty, attempted to plunder the Hindu grandees of his court. The



quarrel had been patched up by Clive, and Rám Náráyan still remained in the Nawáb's service.

l. 15 **who were** Prince, as his companions and advisers.

l. 23. **quit-rent**, rent paid in satisfaction of all claims from service; **quit**, from Lat. *quietum*, at rest, discharged, satisfied, is here an adjective, and the hyphen between the two words is unnecessary

P. 57, l. 5 **the Dutch**, see Introduction.

l. 10. **Batavia**, capital of Java, a Dutch settlement, so called from *Batawi*, the Latin name of the inhabitants of Holland.

l. 11. **balance** English, obtain a footing in the country which should rival that already obtained by the English.

l. 16. **Java**, then, as now, a Dutch settlement.

l. 19. **was well timed**, came at a time when, from the drain on the troops for Forde's expedition, it was likely to succeed

l. 27. **might disavow his acts**, might declare that Clive had no authority from them to act as he did

ll. 28-30 **remitted Company**, the sum thus remitted was £180,000. "The public treasury," says Malcolm, ii. 185, "was so rich from the successes in Bengal, that, for a period, no bills were drawn upon the Directors," and therefore no such bills could be sold to Clive for the money he had in India.

P. 58, ll. 4, 5. **The English water**, Captain Wilson, with three vessels mounting ninety guns, engaged the Dutch fleet of seven vessels, mounting two hundred and twelve guns. After a sharp action of two hours, six of the Dutch ships struck, and the seventh, while trying to escape, fell into the hands of two English vessels at the mouth of the Hughli. On the same day Colonel Forde defeated the garrison of Chinsurah, who had laid an ambush for him in the ruins of Chandranagar, and prepared to meet the seven hundred Europeans and eight hundred Malay soldiers with his force of three hundred and twenty Europeans and twelve hundred Sepoys. He hesitated to attack the troops of a friendly state without explicit orders, and wrote to Clive for an order in Council. Clive, who was playing whist at the time, pencilled an answer,—'Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately. I will send you the order of Council to-morrow.' "The action which followed on the plains of Biderra," says Wilson, "was short, bloody, and decisive." In less than half-an-hour the Dutch were completely defeated, and of their whole force only sixteen Europeans reached Chinsurah." The Dutch then sued for peace, and, in a treaty entered into shortly afterwards, disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, "acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages."

When the news of these hostilities reached Europe, special commissioners of the two nations were appointed to investigate the whole matter, but could find no fault with Clive's conduct.

l. 10. **sat down before Chinsurah**, besieged it.

l. 20. **his rank in the army**, which was only that of lieutenant-colonel.

l. 22. **the Irish peerage**, which does not confer the right to sit in the House of Lords.

l. 25. **Pitt**, William Pitt the elder, afterwards Earl of Chatham.

ll. 28, 9. **that memorable period**. "The year 1759 is perhaps the most memorable in the annals of England's military glory. The French were defeated at Minden in August; in the same month their fleet was beaten off Cape Lagos; Quebec was taken in September; and the Brest fleet was annihilated off Quiberon Bay by Admiral Hawke in November; while in the same year Forde and Cooke were wresting the Northern Circars from Count Lally" (Bowen).

l. 30. **a heaven-born general**, a general inspired with military genius by heaven, not one who had learnt his art from the usual training.

l. 32 **might excite**.. Prussia, Malcolm, ii. 157, relates a story of Lord Ligonier, commander-in-chief, asking permission of Frederic the Great for the young Lord Dunmore to serve as a volunteer in the King's army. This being refused, Lord Ligonier then asked that the young lord might join the Duke of Brunswick's army. "Pshaw," replied the King, "what can he learn there? If he want to learn the art of war let him go to Clive."

P. 59, l. 1. **Wolfe**, General James Wolfe, 1726-1759, whose most famous exploit was the capture of Quebec, the capital of Canada, from Montcalm, the French commander, in 1759.

l. 3. **The Duke of Cumberland**, see note, p. 30, l. 13.

l. 6. **Conway**, Henry Seymour, 1720-95, took part in the Seven Years' War, but without acquiring much distinction. In 1778 he was made commander-in-chief.

l. 7. **versed** .. **profession**, well read in the theories of warfare.

l. 8. **Granby**, John Manners, Marquis of Granby, 1721-70, was also engaged in the Seven Years' War, and took part in the battle of Minden.

l. 10. **Sackville**, George, first Viscount Sackville, 1716-85, commanded the cavalry at Minden, and having disobeyed an order to charge the routed French was accused of cowardice.

ll. 12, 3. **the imputation** ... **soldier**, that of personal cowardice.

l. 13. **a foreign general**, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

l. 14. **Minden**, when in the Seven Years' War the Duke of Cumberland, commanding the English forces sent to help the King of Prussia against the French, was defeated at Hastenbeck and Klosterseven, Pitt placed those forces under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who defeated the French in the great battle of Minden in 1759, and again at Warburg in 1760.

ll. 17, 8. **the great ... Germany**, those who served under Frederic the Great in the Seven Years' War, among whom the most distinguished were Marshal Schwerin and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

l. 24. **private houses**, commercial firms trading with India.

l. 36. **started with nothing**, began his career as a needy man.

P. 60, l. 10. **very slender**, he had nothing but his retiring pension.

l. 13. **to cultivate .. interest**, by securing seats in the House of Commons for those whom he could trust to vote with him on all important occasions.

ll. 24, 5. **that worthless Wilkes**, John Wilkes, notorious for his profane and licentious life, was three times elected member for Middlesex, but being prosecuted for libellous, seditious, and immoral works, was refused admission to the House of Commons, though eventually he took his seat in 1774. His persecution was mainly due to Grenville. For a graphic account of all the circumstances of the affair, see Macaulay's Essay on the Earl of Chatham.

ll. 33, 4. **and then vote**, an allusion to a party in the House of Commons who styled themselves 'the King's friends,' and whose object was to extend the sovereign's power. See Burke's speech on 'The Present Discontents,' etc., and Macaulay's Essay on Chatham.

P. 61, l. 3, 4. **an anomaly**, an irregularity, something without example to justify it: **in our time**, the essay was written in 1840.

l. 6. **Board of Control**, the Government Board which supervised the proceedings of the Court of Directors. The India Bill which Pitt carried in 1784 "preserved in appearance the political and commercial powers of the Directors, while establishing a Board of Control, formed from members of the Privy Council, for the approval or annulling of their acts. Practically, however, the powers of the Board of Directors were absorbed by a secret committee of three elected members of that body, to whom all the more important administrative functions had been reserved by the bill, while those of the Board of Control were virtually exercised by its president. As the president was in effect a new Secretary of State for the Indian Department, and became an important member of each Ministry, responsible like his fellow-

members for his action to Parliament, the administration of India was thus made a part of the general system of the English Government ; while the secret committee supplied the experience of Indian affairs in which the Minister might be deficient" (Green, *Short History*, etc., p. 795).

l. 7. **The Directors**, the governing body of the Company, consisting of twenty-four members annually elected by the proprietors of Indian stock out of their own number.

ll. 9, 10. **The Court of Proprietors**, a Court formed of subscribers to the Company to the amount of £500 and upwards.

l. 14. **Indecently virulent**, bitter beyond all limits of propriety.

ll. 14, 5. **All the turbulence . election**, that is, of an election in places in which the number of voters was very large and many of them of a low class ; but Macaulay no doubt had in his mind a particular election, that in which Fox in 1780 was successful in spite of all the influence of the court and the ministers

ll. 15, 6. **all the trickery . election**. Grampound, a Cornish borough, was in 1820 disfranchised on account of the corrupt practices for which it had become notorious.

l. 18. **Fictitious votes**, owners of India stock were, as has been stated, entitled to a vote at the general meetings of the court of proprietors for every share of £500 possessed by them. To swell their numbers at meetings in which some disputed point was to be settled, these owners frequently allotted a qualifying share to people who had no *bonâ fide* interest in the Company, on condition of their returning their share when the meeting was over.

l. 22. **ballot**, at which the votes were recorded secretly by the proprietors of shares dropping a ball into a box provided for the purpose, each proprietor being given as many balls as he had shares of £500.

ll. 29, 30. **an annuity . year**, the amount of pension given to civil servants retiring after a service of twenty-five years.

l. 34. **four . offices**, such as those of the Viceroy, the Governor of Madras and Bombay, the legal and financial members of the supreme council, all of which, however, except the legal membership, have occasionally been held by civil servants.

l. 35. **The residencies**, the appointment of Resident at the courts of protected States, such as Haidarâbâd, Maisûr, etc.

l. 36. **boards of revenue**, boards which in the different local governments exercise the final supervision of revenue matters.

P. 62, l. 1. **Sudder courts**, the chief courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the former the *Sadr Divâni Adâlat*, and the latter the *Sadr Nizâmat Adâlat*, the salaries in which are generally on the same high level as those of the boards of revenue, and inferior only to that of the head of the local government.

l. 5. **the regular door**, in the Company's day, by having passed through a course at their College of Haileybury, nowadays by passing a competitive examination.

l. 14. **Pigot, Mr.**, afterwards Lord, Pigot, Governor of Madras, and originally an ordinary servant of the Company, who was said by Mr. Watts to have made a fortune of £400,000.

l. 15. **a lottery office**, that is, those who entered the Company's service had the chance of amassing great wealth.

l. 19. **a lieutenant-colonel**, here Clive himself.

l. 23. **for the asking**, not of course to be taken literally, but meaning that such sums were obtained without much trouble.

l. 24. **the South Sea year**. The South Sea Company was founded in 1711 by an Act of Parliament which gave to it the exclusive right of trading in the Pacific Ocean and along the east coast of America. It was soon in a flourishing condition, so much so that in 1720, when the rate of interest paid by Government on the national debt was very high, the Company proposed, if the holders of stock in that debt would exchange their stock for shares in the Company, to become the sole creditors of Government, and to be content with interest at the rate of five *per cent*. These holders of stock eagerly accepted the proposal, and the shares of the Company rose from £100 to £1000. The rage for speculation became so great that a number of companies, whose projects had about as much reality in them as those of the Academy of Lagado, soon came into existence, and the projectors of some of these were prosecuted by the South Sea Company, it being their evident object to bring that Company into ridicule. The action of the Company, however, opened the eyes of people to the recklessness of its speculation, the shares which for a time had been at £1000 soon fell to £135, and numbers of those who had bought in when the speculation was at its height were utterly ruined.

P. 63, ll. 10, 1. **to file** . **them**, in order to obtain an order for *specific performance*: in a law court he would have had to sue for *damages*.

l. 17. **as Clive once said**, in his speech before the House of Commons, March 30, 1772.

l. 26. **The Roman proconsul**. Though the rapacity of proconsuls, proprietors, etc., is a frequent theme of Roman satire generally, Macaulay is here speaking with special reference to Lucullus, c. B.C. 110-57, whose parks, fish-ponds, etc., were laid out at enormous expense, and whose feasts were proverbial for their extravagance. Horace satirizes the feasting on nightingales and the love of gladiatorial shows, and Juvenal refers to the drinking from vessels encrusted with amber. Under the Empire the passion for gladiatorial exhibitions rose to its greatest

height, and after Trajan's triumph over the Dacians, more than 10,000 were exhibited on a single occasion. Camelopards were first shown in the *venatio*, or hunting, at the public games of the amphitheatre, by Julius Cæsar in his third consulship, B.C. 45, when the *venatio* lasted for five days.

II. 30-3. the Spanish Viceroy outdone. Cortes returned to Spain in 1528, and entered Madrid with great pomp, but Macaulay seems to be referring more especially to the unbounded rapacity of the later Spanish viceroys. Francisco Pizarro perished at Lima, while his brother Fernando returned to Spain only to be imprisoned, and died a poor man. Lima, founded by Francisco Pizarro in 1535, and made the capital of Peru.

I. 32. sumpter-horses, the word *sumpter* was formerly used by itself, and meant the driver of a horse; it is from "O. F. *somme-tier*, a pack-horse driver. This answers to a Low Lat. *sagmatarius*, not found, but formed from the Greek *σαγματ-*, the true stem of *σάγμα*, a pack-saddle"... (Skeat, *Ety. Dict.*).

I. 33. trapped, ornamented.

P. 64, I. 3. a will, i.e. a strong will of his own.

I. 5. ground ... dust, robbed of everything.

II. 6, 7. destroyed ... source, by ruining those from whom it was drawn.

II. 9, 10. a massacre Hole, see note on p. 1, II. 8, 9.

I. 19. to buy ... cheap, to buy at a high price what the Company had to sell, and to sell their own produce and manufactures at a low price.

I. 21. fiscal authorities, collectors of revenue.

II. 24, 5. Every servant ... master, that is, he threatened the native dealers with the anger of his master if they refused the terms he offered.

II. 30, I. They found. Dowlah, they found the worst extortions of Suráj-ud-daula as nothing compared with those of the Company's servants. The expression is taken from *i. Kings* xii. 10, where the young men whose advice Rehoboam followed, said to him, "Thus shalt thou speak unto this people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou say unto them, *My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins.*"

I. 32.—P. 65, I. 6. Under their old ... odds, compare the Essay on Hastings, pp. 9, 10 of my edition, "The master caste ... St. James's Square."

I. 2. evil Genii, malignant spirits.

I. 3. soft, effeminate.

ll. 4, 5. the hereditary ... mankind, who claimed to have inherited all the noblest qualities of the human race.

l. 17. formed ... Clive, who adopted the bold tactics of which Clive had set the example.

l. 19. the Mussulman ... times, Sayyid Ghulam Husen, author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*, or *Review of Modern Times*.

l. 27. the people of God, i.e. the Musalmans.

ll. 31-3. "Oh God! . . suffer," "a quotation from the Kuran, often in the mouths of the afflicted" (Bowen).

P. 66, ll. 5, 6. only by . executions, by putting them to death in large numbers.

l. 21. trembling dividends, in great terror of losing the interest on their shares in the Company.

ll. 23, 4. the oppressive . dropped, the unjust attempt to take from him the grant of rent made by Mir Jafar ought to be abandoned.

P. 67, l. 9. within . seat, only maintained his seat as a director by a majority of one vote.

ll. 13, 4. the whole . government, the whole administration in Bengal.

l. 28. an intimate friend, General Carnac.

ll. 30, 1. so little . sentiment, so little addicted to sentimental expression of his feelings.

P. 68, l. 1. a hereafter, a future state of life.

l. 2. a mind . corruption, a mind that disdained all corrupt practices.

l. 12. cowed, frightened into abandoning all opposition. Mr. Leycester first attempted to question the extent of the powers given to the Board, "but," says Clive, "I cut him short, by informing the Board that I would not suffer any one to enter into the least discussion about the meaning of those powers.... Mr. Johnstone desired that some other paragraphs of the letter might be sent to the different subordinates, etc., as tending, I believe, in his opinion, to invalidate those orders. Upon which I asked him, whether he would dare to dispute our authority. Mr. Johnstone replied, that he never had the least intention of doing such a thing; upon which there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, and not one of the council uttered another syllable" (Clive's letter to General Carnac, dated 6th May, 1765).

l. 32. to support peerages, to keep up the pomp and state suitable to the position of a peer.

l. 33. had part, had determined upon a nobler line of action. than mere self-aggrandisement. The phrase is taken

from the *Gospel of St. Luke*, x. 42, "Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her"

P. 69, l. 4. **as one man**, with one accord, with the same determination.

ll. 33, 4. **if you give . content**, if you pay them with a liberality that will satisfy their expectations.

ll. 34, 5. **and then .. from**, and then you will know exactly what their service costs you, whereas now by their private trading they may rob you of large sums without your knowing how much they take.

P. 70, ll. 8-10. **This system . way**, the system by which the servants of the Company were tacitly allowed to trade on their own account, might lessen the profits of the shareholders, but until the Company became actual masters of Bengal, it did not enable those servants to tyrannize over the natives.

l. 13. **proconsuls**, those who at the close of their consulship in Rome became governors of a province, or military commanders under a governor: **proprætors**, magistrates in the times of the Republic, who, after having administered the prætorship for one year in Rome, were sent the following year as prætors to a province where there was no army **procurators**, officers in the times of the emperors who had charge of the imperial revenues, imperial collectors.

ll. 30, 1. **which had formed ... revenue**, salt is no longer a monopoly, except to a certain extent at Madras, but a salt-tax is levied as an excise for inland production.

P. 71, ll. 9, 10. **to charge . maintenance**, to make the salt monopoly bear the cost of the salaries of the civil servants.

l. 22. **even Cæsar** faced, an allusion to a mutiny among his troops which Cæsar quelled by addressing them as "Quintus," i.e. citizens, not soldiers.

l. 33. **commissions**, as officers in the army. "The officers combined in this proceeding bound themselves by an oath to secrecy, and to preserve, at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any one of their own body who might be condemned by a court-martial to death. In order to avoid the charge of mutiny, they determined to refuse the usual advance of pay for the month of June. Each officer bound himself separately by a bond of £500 not to accept his commission again, if double *batta* was not restored. And subscriptions were entered into for those who might be cashiered. To this subscription several civilians were said to have contributed" (Malcolm, iii. 4, 5). Among those implicated was Sir R. Fletcher, commanding the first brigade—he was, indeed, accused of having been the instigator of the whole plan, and being brought to trial was cashiered.



ll. 33-5. He gave ... crisis. Two only, however, accepted the offer.

P. 72, l. 5. cashiered, dismissed; from Fr. *casser*, to break, discharge; Lat. *cassare*, to bring to nothing, annul, discharge.

l. 13. One of the conspirators, Lieutenant Stainsforth, who was cashiered. When application was made to Clive to restore this officer to the service, as had been done in the case of some of the less guilty of the conspirators, he refused to do so, though, says Gleig, "the letter which conveyed his refusal was couched in delicate, almost in kind language." The origin of the conspiracy was the order issued in 1765 warning the troops that from the beginning of the following year the right of European officers to draw double *batta* would cease. This *batta* was an allowance to troops on a campaign, or when away from their headquarters, to enable them to provide themselves with the necessary equipment of tents, horses, baggage animals, and canteens, and when Clive undertook to depose Suráj-ud-daula, Mir Jáfár, in order to encourage the English army heartily to espouse his cause, promised to double the allowance out of his own resources.

ll. 31, 2. it had been .. compact, no compact had been entered into in which the terms of that power were investigated and precisely laid down.

l. 35. the Ricimers and the Odoacers, such men as Ricimer and Odoacer. Ricimer, the Roman "King-Maker," was the son of a Savaian chief, and was brought up at the court of Valentinian III. He served with distinction under Aetius, a celebrated Roman general who gained a great victory over Attila, King of the Huns, near Chalons, in Gaul, A.D. 451. In A.D. 456 Ricimer commanded the fleet of the Emperor Avitus, with which he defeated the Vandals, and in the same year deposed Avitus; but as he was a barbarian by birth, he would not assume the title of emperor. He therefore gave it to Marjorian, intending to keep the real power in his own hands. Marjorian, however, proved more able and energetic than Ricimer had expected, and was therefore put to death by Ricimer's order in 461, Libius Severus being raised to the throne. On the death of Severus in 465, Ricimer kept the government in his own hands for eighteen months; but in 467 Anthemius was appointed emperor of the West by Leo, Emperor of the East. Ricimer acquiesced in the appointment, and received the daughter of Anthemius in marriage; but in 472 he made war against his father-in-law, and took Rome by storm. Anthemius perished in the assault, and Olybrius was proclaimed emperor by Ricimer, who died only forty days after the sack of Rome. Odoacer, usually called King of the Heruli, was the leader of the barbarians who overthrew the Western Empire in A.D. 476. He took the title of King of Italy, but was shortly afterwards overthrown by

Theodoric, King of the Goths, when he took refuge in Ravenna. There he was besieged by Theodoric for three years, and at last capitulated on condition that he and Theodoric should share the kingdom of Italy. Theodoric, however, put him to death in 493.

P. 73, l. 1. **Cæsar and Augustus**, the former was the name of a patrician family at Rome, and, after the death of Julius Cæsar, was assumed by Octavius as his adopted son, and retained by succeeding emperors though having no connection with that family; the latter was a title conferred by the Senate on Octavius and retained by later emperors.

l. 4. **prescription**, a title acquired by long enjoyment of property. **Theodoric**, surnamed "the Great," king of the Ostrogoths, succeeded his father Theodemir, in 475. He was at first an ally of Zeno, Emperor of Constantinople, but was afterwards involved in hostilities with him. In order to get rid of Theodoric, Zeno gave him permission to invade Italy and expel Odoacer. Theodoric's rule of thirty-three years was prosperous and beneficent, and under it Italy recovered from the ravages to which it had been exposed for many years.

l. 13. **a few Persian characters**, *i.e.* a document conferring certain rights.

ll. 18-21. **the last**. **Pepin**, there were two Chilperics, kings of Neustria, the latter of whom was overthrown by Charles Martel, in 720, a descendant of the Pepins; and three Childerics, the first, King of the Salian Franks, the second, King of Austrasia, and the third, King of Neustria, who was deposed by Pepin the Short, in 752, fifth in descent from the first Pepin, surnamed the Old. This Pepin the Old was the first of the Mayors of the Palace, or Lord Chamberlains, as we might call them, who, though nominally subjects, took upon themselves almost absolute power.

l. 26. **the Danes**, see Introduction.

l. 30. **too flimsy**, too slight; in a literal sense applied especially to woven materials.

P. 74, ll. 4, 5. **are exempted ... justice**, *i.e.* writs, summonses, etc., cannot be served upon him, or executed in his house.

ll. 17, 8. **The Rajah of Benares**, a large landholder whose father had procured for him the title of Rāja from the Nawāb of Oudh.

ll. 21, 2. **made ... refusal**, took no credit to himself for declining them.

ll. 25, 6. **those presents ... refuse**, offerings of small amount made by natives of India when visiting officials on certain occasions.

P. 75, ll. 1-3. **He made .. service**, the exact sum made over by Clive was £62,833. To this the Nawāb of Bengal added

£37,700, and the Company allowed interest on the whole to the amount of £24,128. The sum total was made over for the benefit of worn-out military servants to the Poplar Hospital founded by the Company in 1627 as a place of refuge for decayed seamen in their service. In 1858, when the government of India came under the Crown, Lord Clive's fund lapsed to his heirs.

P. 76, l. 1 **the pomposity of upstarts**, that attempt to appear dignified and imposing, which is so common with men who have risen from nothing.

l. 8. **high connection**, alliance with well-born families.

l. 12. **the farmer-general**, a class of men under the old French monarchy to whom the right of levying certain taxes in particular districts was *farmed* out on their paying a sum of money down, and who made large profits on the transaction

l. 16. **the Jacobins**, the name of a faction in the French revolution derived from the Jacobin Club, which first met in the Hall of the Jacobin Friars, friars of the Order of St. Dominic. Robespierre was the most prominent member of the club, and with his fall its existence came to an end. The term is now used of those holding revolutionary principles.

l. 26. **insolently**, with ostentatious vulgarity.

l. 27. **raised .. everything**, by the profuseness of their expenditure.

l. 28. **rotten boroughs**, a term used of boroughs where the number of voters was very small, in some of them because they had decayed in size since members were first given them, in others because they had been allowed members in order that they might be under the influence of the Crown. The power of nominating these members was usually in the hands of the Crown or of some neighbouring landlord, or was sold to the highest bidder. At one period it is asserted that two hundred members of Parliament were returned by places with less than a hundred electors, and that three hundred and fifty-seven members were nominated by one hundred and fifty-four patrons.

ll. 31, 2. **corrupted .. country**, by the example of the extravagance in which their servants were allowed to live.

l. 34. **the stud**, a collection of breeding horses and mares; the original sense of the word is an establishment.

l. 35. **Dresden china**, a valuable kind of porcelain manufactured at Dresden in Germany. **Burgundy**, a French wine of which the best vintages are sold at a high price.

l. 36. **low men**, ill-bred fellows.

P. 77, ll. 5, 6. **to eclipse .. race-ground**, to outshine by the magnificence of their carriages and retinue the Lord-Lieutenant of the county when he appeared at a race meeting.

ll. 6, 7. **to carry ... Book**, to carry the election of members of Parliament for the county in opposition to the influence of the oldest families; **Domesday Book**, a record compiled in 1085 of the amount of arable, pasture, and wood land in a county, to whom it belonged, what mills and fisheries there were, what had been the value of the township in the time of Edward the Confessor, and what it was now worth.

l. 15 **foibles**, weak points in character; F. *foible*, weak.

l. 17. **Turcaret**, a character in a comedy of the same name by Le Sage; a coarse, illiterate man who had grown rich by stock operations: **Nero**, A.D. 54-68, the fifth of the Roman emperors, and one of the most cruel and profligate of all of them.

l. 18. **Monsieur Jourdain**, a character in Molière's comedy of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* represented as an elderly tradesman who becoming suddenly rich wishes to acquire the accomplishments of well-born and well-educated men, and fails ludicrously.

l. 25. **dilettante**, an Italian word, a lover of the fine arts: here referring to "a society of *dilettanti* established in 1734 by several noblemen and gentlemen who had travelled and who were desirous of introducing a taste for the fine arts into England" ... (Bowen).

l. 26. **the macaroni**, a name given to men of fastidious and eccentric taste and dress in the last century. According to Haydn, *Dict. of Dates*, the term was applied in 1509 to a poem by Theophilo Folengo which in its mixture of emptiness and frivolity was as little satisfying as the paste made in Italy of wheat flour and called *macaroni* or *maccaroni*. The term was later applied to poems written in a mixture of languages: **black-balled**, refused admittance to their club by putting a black ball into the ballot box against their names when they were proposed as members.

l. 27. **Methodists**, a sect of dissenters from the ritual of the Church of England called the Primitive Methodists as adopting in their service what they considered the primitive form of worship.

l. 32. **Foot**, a comic dramatist of the times. This play was called "The Nabob"

l. 36. **tricking out**, dressing in a fanciful manner.

P. 78, l. 2 **jargon**, properly confused talk, here talk not understood by the hearers: **lacs**, a *lakh* is 100,000 *rupees*, formerly = £10,000: **jaghires**, or *jaegirs*, landed estates.

l. 3. **Mackenzie**, Henry Mackenzie, born at Edinburgh in 1745; author of the *Man of Feeling*, the *Man of the World*, *Julia de Roubigné*, and some weak plays, to one of which Macaulay alludes.

ll. 7-9. in that .. poets, a poem of some seven hundred lines, entitled "Expostulation," in which a warning to England is deduced from a comparison with the Jews in their ancient prosperity and the causes of their downfall. The passage to which Macaulay refers, begins, "Hast thou, though suckled at fair Freedom's breast, Exported slavery to the conquer'd East?"

ll. 12, 3. loss . . empire, the American colonies.

l. 18. a bad liver ... heart, here bad is of course used in a physical sense; worse, in a moral sense.

l. 25. Berkeley Square, then, and still, one of the fashionable squares in London: Claremont, in Surrey, about fourteen miles from London, an estate he purchased from the Duchess of Newcastle.

l. 30. Margery Mushroom, one of the names under which Mackenzie wrote in *The Lounger*.

P. 79, l. 3. Sybarite, the people of Sybaris, a Greek city in Lucania, were famous for their wealth and luxurious living.

ll. 8, 9. Sir Matthew Mite, a character in Foote's comedy of "The Nabob," a returned East India merchant represented as dissolute, ungenerous, tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them.

l. 13. Black stories, stories of oppression and cruelty.

l. 28. Brown, a celebrated landscape-gardener of the time.

P. 80, l. 3. gaping clowns, foolish bores always ready to believe any scandalous story.

l. 5. William Huntington, S.S., illegitimate son of a farmer named Russell, but christened William Hunt from the name of his putative father, a labourer of that name, which at a later period he altered to Huntington. After a dissolute life, in which he adopted various trades, he pretended to be converted by a sudden flash of lightning, and to have seen Christ in the flesh. He set up as a preacher of doctrines in which Calvinism and antinomianism mingled, and finding plenty of dupes managed to make a good income out of a chapel he got built for him. He called himself a prophet, pretended to have special monitions from God and to be under His special protection. The letters S.S. which he took after his name were for "Sinner Saved."

l. 17. the rains failed, the summer rains brought in by the south-west monsoon. The famine of 1770 was the most terrible of any of which we have record.

ll. 32, 3. the funeral ... river, the Hindus either burn their dead or throw them into the Ganges.

P. 81, l. 7. **engrossing**, buying up the whole stock in order to have a monopoly of its sale; Fr. *en gros*, in the lump, by wholesale.

l. 22. **two... women**, i.e. a few persons as foolish as old women: **the corn factors**, the purchasers of large quantities of corn for retail.

l. 25. **Adam Smith**, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, and founder of the study of Political Economy in England. Bowen quotes the passage, to which Macaulay refers, in bk. iv. ch. 7, "The private trade of the servants (of the Company) tends to stunt the natural growth of every part of the produce in which they chose to deal."... "their monopoly tends to reduce the quantity of every sort of produce, even that of the necessities of life, whenever the servants of the Company choose to deal in them, to what those servants can afford to buy and expect to sell with such a profit as pleases them."

P. 82, l. 5. **Intrigues in the palace**, the allusion probably is to those of the Earl of Bute, Prime Minister (1761-3), and the Queen Dowager, mother of George III.

ll. 5, 6. **riots in the capital**, referring to the Gordon riots headed by a fanatical Protestant, Lord George Gordon, who in 1780 presented a petition to Parliament against concession to the Roman Catholics, when a riot broke out in which prisons were broken open, chapels and houses burnt to the ground, and a large amount of property destroyed. For four days the rioters had possession of the streets, and were only dispersed by the troops being called out to fire upon them.

ll. 11, 2. **a bold... measure**. It is very doubtful whether Chatham had formed any definite plans of a measure; in fact, in a conversation with Mr. Walsh, he told him that "the affair was of too extensive and too difficult a nature for Ministers to determine... that the consideration must of necessity come into Parliament... that the Crown had nothing to do in the affair, and that its ministers could only interfere in preventing unreasonable and oppressions on one side or the other; and that the Company, in all cases, must subsist" (Letter of Mr. Walsh to Clive, 22nd November, 1766). Pitt's mind at the time was in a disordered state, he refused to attend to business, and his colleagues, not having the courage to carry out any large measure, passed an Act in June, 1767, which compelled the Company to purchase a continuance of their rights by paying £400,000 a year into the Exchequer.

ll. 19, 20. **the breach**. 1761, Pitt, learning in 1761 that Spain was about to join France against England, wished to declare war at once; but as his colleagues refused to go with him, he resigned in disgust.

l. 23. **the Middlesex election**, see note, p. 60, l. 24.

P. 83, l. 6. **Lord Rockingham**, Charles Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, on the failure of the negotiations between the king and Pitt, at the resignation of Grenville in 1765, formed a Ministry which, though so weak as not to be able to hold power for more than a year, succeeded in repealing Grenville's unfortunate Stamp Act which led to the revolt of the American colonies. Rockingham in 1782 succeeded Lord North as Prime Minister, but died in the course of the year.

l. 15. **his spurs chopped off**, a disgrace formerly inflicted on recreant knights.

ll. 27-9. **now the ghost . . . glory**, now in intellect but a shadow of what he once was, loved to visit the place where he had won his great triumphs; the word **haunt** carries on the figure in **ghost**.

ll. 35, 6. **disquisition and declamation**, searching inquiry into any intricate matter and power to enunciate views in language of lofty oratory.

P. 84, ll. 6, 7. **presented hostility**, gave their hostility an opportunity of attacking him on matters which could not be well defended; the treatment of Amin Chand, the enthronement of Mir Jafar and the acceptance of money from him, were the only points in Clive's career that were open to any serious condemnation.

ll. 26-8. **He described . . . him**, "Am I not rather," he exclaimed, "deserving of praise for the moderation which marked my proceedings? Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman," cried he, warming with his subject, and striking his hand against his brow, "this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation."

l. 30. **bidding . . . smiles**, outvying each other in their offers of wealth to purchase his favour.

P. 85, l. 5. **laws**, i.e. moral laws.

l. 14. **knows . . . set-off**, refuses to acknowledge a good act as wiping out a bad one.

ll. 16, 7. **has sold . . . morning**, it being a legal offence to sell it before noon on Sunday.

l. 19. **harnessed carriage**, it was formerly common for dogs to be used to draw small carts; this practice was made penal in 1839.

l. 32. **Bruce**, his crime was the murder of Comyn, nephew of Balliol, the rival of Bruce's grandfather.

II. 33, 6. **Maurice ... Russia.** "The great blemish on the name of Maurice, Duke of Saxony (1521-1553), was his self-seeking and temporising conduct before he finally espoused the cause of the Protestants, and drove Charles V. out of Germany. William 'the Silent' (1533-1584), on whose character historians so differ, is pronounced by Motley (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i. 239) to be guiltless of the charges 'which made him the murderer of his first wife, a common conspirator against Philip's crown and person, and a crafty malefactor, in general, without a single virtue.' .. The massacre of Glencoe stained the name of William III. James Stuart, Earl of Murray, treated his sister and Queen with a cold cruelty. Cosmo di Medici (1519-1574), grand-duke of Tuscany, though he restored literature and the fine arts to Italy, had won his power at Florence by torture and secret assassination. Henry of Navarre was as distinguished for the licentiousness of his private life, and the versatility of his faith, as in his public life he truly deserved the name of Great. Peter the Great (1672-1723), Czar of all the Russias, though of such wonderful ability in public life, was to the end a coarse, brutal savage, wallowing in drunkenness, and revelling in the torture of his victims". (Bowen).

P. 86, l. 1. **pass ... scrutiny,** be subject to so keen an inquiry.

II. 3, 4. **the tribunal . history,** the tribunal of far-seeing men, who judge with the calmness and impartiality of history written when the passions of the moment have passed away, and fuller information affords the means of broader views.

I. 8. **had run him down,** the technical phrase in hunting for pursuing the game till it is caught.

I. 13. **Knight of the Bath,** next to the Order of the Garter, the highest of English Orders of Knighthood; "established by George I. in 1725, to consist of the sovereign, a grand master, and thirty-six knights. This was a pretended revival of an Order supposed to have been created by Henry IV. at his coronation in 1399. ... But, as Ashmole says, 'if the ceremonies and circumstances of their creation be well considered, it will appear that this king did not institute but rather restored the ancient manner of making knights, and consequently that the Knights of the Bath are in truth no other than Knights bannerets, that is to say, such as are created with those ceremonies with which Knights bannerets were formerly created'" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*). It is now chiefly a military and naval distinction, though there are also civil Companions and Knights.

I. 14. **Henry . Chapel,** in Westminster Abbey, "erected under the care of Bolton, the Architect-Prior of St. Bartholomew's, in the place of the Lady Chapel of Henry III., the burial-place of



almost all the sovereigns from Henry VII. to George II., the finest perpendicular building in England, called by Leland 'the miracle of the world,'—far finer than its rival, King's College at Cambridge" (Hare, *Walks in London*, II. 287-8).

l. 15. **Lord-Lieutenant**, who represents the crown in a shire, but has little more to do now than to appoint Justices of the Peace.

ll. 15, 6. **kissed hands**, a ceremony at the levée of the sovereign.

l. 28. **open questions**, questions in which the members of the Ministry were at liberty to take whichever side they preferred; not Cabinet questions, in which they are bound to vote with the Government.

P. 87, ll. 17, 8. **They had voted** syllogism, the major premiss was, that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate acquisitions made by the arms of the State, the minor premiss was that Clive had done so, and the logical conclusion should have been that Clive deserved punishment.

l. 21. **the previous** carried. "The object of the 'Previous Question' is to withhold a Motion from the Vote, . Members who propose the 'Previous Question,' move that the Question which they oppose 'be now put'; and then they vote against their own motion" (Palgrave, *The Chairman's Handbook*).

l. 30. **Jenkinson**, Charles, Earl of Liverpool, one of the "King's Friends," and supporter of the Bute Ministry so hateful to the country.

P. 88, l. 1. **were set**. foil, the contrast of the behaviour of the French Government under Louis the Fifteenth showed the behaviour of the English Parliament in the brightest light; a foil (Lat. *folium*, a leaf) is a piece of tinsel placed underneath a gem when set, in order to make its lustre all the greater.

l. 5. **the Bastille**, the great prison of Paris, especially for the confinement of political offenders, which was destroyed by the mob at the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789.

ll. 7, 8. **by humiliating** .. antechamber, where he was made to wait when seeking an interview with a Minister, in the hopes of obtaining the protection of the Court against the injustice with which he was treated on his return from India. See Introduction.

l. 15. **tempered** .. eulogy, by declaring without a division that he "had rendered great and meritorious services to his country."

l. 16. **Voltaire**, François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, 1694-1778, poet, historian, and philosopher, but most notorious for his deistical writings, was the third son of François Arouet, a successful notary of Paris, of an ancient family of Poitou. The name Voltaire which he assumed is said to be an anagram for A R O V E T L J., i.e. *Le Jeune*, the younger.

l. 20. **Dr. Moore**, father of Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, a surgeon, best known for his novel "Zeluco": **Fernay**, on the lake of Geneva, whither Voltaire retired in 1755.

l. 25. **poignantly expressed**, expressed in the most touching language.

l. 28. **theo-philanthropy**, the theo-philanthropists, friends of God and man, were a sect that sprang up in France in the time of the French Revolution, and preached the doctrines of pure Deism that Voltaire had taught

P. 89, l. 1. **which rejoiceth .. grave**, from *Job* iii. 22, "Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul; ... Which rejoice exceedingly, and are glad, when they can find the grave?"

l. 7. **his constitutional misery**, that periodical dejection of mind which was a part of his nature.

l. 20. **was gradually ... ally**, in time became such a slave to the remedy he had sought to relieve his pains that he could not exist without its help, though conscious that it was undermining his constitution.

P. 90, l. 1. **he died ... hand**. According to Gleig, a lady staying in Clive's house had gone into his room to ask him to mend a pen for her. This he did, and the lady left him. A short time afterwards a servant going to seek him found that he had cut his throat with the penknife used in mending the pen. According to Horace Walpole, his death was due to an overdose of opium. He had long suffered from violent attacks of pain from gall-stones, which were attended with severe spasms, and had been accustomed both in India and in England to resort to opium for relief. He was only forty-nine years of age.

l. 10. **ruined ... satiety**, which lost its balance in consequence of his having attained the utmost objects of his ambition, and being no longer capable of enjoying the over-fulness of his success.

l. 19. **mere pedlars**, nothing more than petty traders.

l. 21. **dissolved the charm**, broke down that influence as of magic which the French by their brilliant exploits had exercised over the minds of the natives of India.

l. 23. **the fall of Ghizni**, the fortress of Ghazni, in Afghanistan, was captured by Sir John Keane in 1839.

l. 24. **approved**, proved; common in this sense in Elizabethan writers.

l. 25. **Alexander**, B.C. 355-323, the Great, King of Macedon, one of the greatest soldiers of ancient times: **Conde**, Louis II., Prince of Conde, 1621-1686: **Charles the Twelfth**, King of Sweden from 1697 to 1718.

l. 30. **Granicus**, a river in Mysia, at which Alexander defeated the Persians when only twenty-two years of age: **Rocroi**, where Conde at the same age defeated the Spaniards in 1643: **Narva**, where Charles, only eighteen years of age, won a brilliant victory over the Russians.

P. 91, l. 10. **the Sacred Way**, one of the principal roads in Rome, leading from the Forum to the Capitol.

l. 11. **the threshold ... Jove**, the temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian rock on the Capitoline Hill.

l. 12. **Antiochus**, King of Syria, conquered by Pompey, B.C. 65: **Tigranes**, King of Armenia defeated by Lucullus, B.C. 69.

l. 21. **by any means, fair or foul**; an allusion to a line in Horace, *Epistles* i. l. 667, "*rem facias; rem, si possis recte; si non, quocunque modo rem*"; make money, honestly, if you can; if not, by any means in your power.

l. 36. **Munro**, Sir Thomas, Governor of Madras in 1820.

P. 92, l. 1. **Elphinstone**, the Honourable Mountstuart, Governor of Bombay, 1819-27, and author of a history of India: **Metcalf**, Lord, acted as Governor-General in 1835, during the interval between Lord William Bentinck's resignation and the arrival of Lord Auckland.

l. 10. **Lucullus**, celebrated for his success in the war against Mithridates, B.C. 74-66, and for his devotion to literary pursuits, no less than for his splendour and profusion of living: **Trajan**, Emperor of Rome, A.D. 98-117, famous for his exploits against the Dacians and Parthians, for his just government, and for the great public works he constructed.

l. 12. **Turgot**, Anne Robert Jacques, 1727-81, famous for his economic and administrative theories, which as finance Minister to Louis XVI. he desired to carry out, but was prevented from doing so by the faint-heartedness of that monarch; famous also for his vast knowledge.

ll. 13-4. **Lord William Bentinck**, Governor-General, 1828-35, during which period India enjoyed peace, the deficit was converted into a surplus, *sati* (the immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands) was abolished, and the education of natives placed on a new and liberal footing.

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